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NATO Group Discusses Danish Ship Ban, Arms

LD281208 Moscow TASS in English 1141 GMT 28 Apr 88

[Text] Brussels April 28 TASS—The spring session of the Nuclear Planning Group of the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation at the defense minister level winds up its session at the NATO Headquarters today.

On the first day of the session the partners in the alliance led by the United States succeeded by blackmail and pressure to force Danish Minister Bernt Johan Collet to announce that the Danish Government led by Prime Minister Poul Schluter will refuse to fulfill a resolution, passed by the Folketing, barring foreign warships carrying nuclear weapons from Danish territorial waters and ports. Thus, the NATO bloc interfered collectively in the internal affairs of its allies taking the side of the Danish minority government in its conflict with the left-wing opposition regarding the national policy in the field of nuclear weapons.

U.S. Defense Secretary Frank Carlucci addressed the session. His speech amounted to justifying Washington's plans to seek by all means modernization of the NATO nuclear arsenals which are not subject to destruction under the Soviet-U.S. treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles. According to reports from informed journalist quarters, the head of the U.S. military establishment put disguised pressure on the Federal Republic of Germany to break its resistance to the plans to modernize the U.S. shorter-range nuclear weapons deployed in its territory.

Belgian National Defense Minister Francois-Xavier de Donnea announced Wednesday that within the framework of the NATO Nuclear Planning Group session five member countries—the United States, Britain, Italy, Belgium and the Netherlands—agreed on perfecting the coordination of the activity of their naval squadrons operating in the Persian Gulf zone. The Belgian minister denied that the Reagan administration made even the slightest amendments in its military strategy in that part of the world. The afore-mentioned countries sent their warships to the Persian Gulf under the pretext of ensuring the freedom of navigation.

Nuclear Plan Group Ends Session

LD281636 Moscow TASS in English 1602 GMT 28 Apr 88

[Text] Brussels April 28 TASS—By TASS correspondent Albert Balebanov:

The NATO Nuclear Planning Group ended a two-day closed-door session at the bloc's Headquarters here today.

The final communique said it had discussed ways to keep the alliance's nuclear forces up to date, or modernize them.

The session put a high value on the Soviet-American treaty on the abolition of intermediate-range and shorter-range missiles, voiced the hope for its early ratification and entry into force and declared support for the idea of halving the strategic offensive armories of the USSR and the United States.

The attending defense ministers of 14 NATO countries (without France and Iceland) at the same time reiterated allegiance to a policy of "balanced security", which, they said, was based, on the one hand, on the deterrence concept and, on the other, on constructive dialogue and cooperation with the East, including arms control.

Proceeding from this, the session voiced determination to ensure an uninterrupted efficiency of combined conventional and nuclear forces, including nuclear arms in Europe, and to keep them up to date.

The ministers confirmed they were not going to renounce their nuclear arsenals which, they claimed, would continue to be used as deterrence in the full measure.

The Greek representative did not support these militarist ambitions of his colleagues.

NATO Secretary-General Lord Carrington told a news conference that the session had given much attention to the "Denmark problem" stemming from the Danish parliament's decision to toughen rules on visits by foreign ships with nuclear weapons in its country's territorial waters and ports.

Pentagon Chief Frank Carlucci criticized the decision as a challenge to the United States and to NATO's joint defense policy. He said NATO could not permit such actions on the part of its members as they were weakening the positions of the alliance.

British Defense Secretary George Younger threatened that if the Danish parliament stuck to its guns, London would refuse to send its troops to Denmark as part of movements by NATO's mobile forces.

Debates on the "Denmark problem" ended with Danish Defense Minister Bernt Johan Collet declaring that the Danish Government would refuse to abide by the parliament resolution.

NATO has thus collectively and grossly meddled in the domestic affairs of an ally, by taking the side of the bourgeois Danish Government in its conflict with the left-wing opposition over national policy on nuclear weapons.

Belgian Defense Minister Francois-Xavier de Donnea said that five NATO members, including the United States, Britain, Italy, Belgium and the Netherlands, had agreed at the session to coordinate more closely the activities of their naval forces in the Persian Gulf.

Defense Official on Carlucci Claims

LD291149 Moscow TASS in English 1133 GMT 29 Apr 88

[Text] Moscow April 29 TASS—U.S. Defense Secretary Frank Carlucci has alleged at the session of the NATO Nuclear Planning Group in Brussels that following the signature of the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate-Range and Shorter-Range Missiles the USSR has been retargetting part of its strategic missiles at Western Europe.

He claimed that the "fact" had been corroborated by U.S. intelligence.

After the Pentagon chief similar claims were made by British Defense Secretary George Younger and Lothar Ruehl, state secretary for defense of the Federal Republic of Germany.

A TASS correspondent asked a high-ranking official spokesman for the Soviet Defense Ministry to comment on these assertions and was given the following reply:

"The prime objective of this disinformation is one, namely to secure an implicit fulfilment of NATO's 'rearmament' and 'compensation' plans to make up for the abolition of the American Pershings and cruise missiles."

The idea of the "compensation" program worked out in the NATO staffs is to make sure that rather than decreasing, the amount of nuclear weapons on the NATO side in Europe will grow even further.

The British newspaper OBSERVER reported that NATO strategists plan to deploy in Europe at least twice as many new nuclear warheads as are to be scrapped under the INF Treaty.

The NATO "compensations" program covers both strategic and tactical nuclear systems, including plans to develop the nuclear armaments of France and Britain.

U.S. and NATO military leaders are out to convince West Europeans that their current "rearmament" program was adopted way back in October 1983 at a Nuclear Planning Group session in Montebello and that it only remains now to carry it out.

The logic of this argument is not serious. To count time from Montebello is to fail to admit that times have changed and priority now belongs to new values in international relations, including those in the military field, which have won the right to existence and keep affirming themselves as a result of the accords reached at Soviet-U.S. summits.

As far as the Soviet Union is concerned, it has been undeviatingly following the line of doing away with nuclear weapons altogether. It was been showing restraint in the military field and even before the ratification of the INF Treaty it has unilaterally removed its shorter-range missiles from the territories of the German Democratic Republic and Czechoslovakia, which have been sited there to counter the deployment of American Pershing-2's and cruises in Western Europe.

It is such actions rather than the "rearmament" or "compensation" efforts that can serve as an example of a practical striving to scale down military confrontation and enhance trust and mutual understanding which are needed so badly to further the disarmament process in Europe, a process started by the INF Treaty.

Bogachev Analyzes Session

LD282056 Moscow TASS in English 2018 GMT 28 Apr 88

[Text] Moscow April 28 TASS—TASS military news analyst Vladimir Bogachev writes:

The NATO Nuclear Planning Group approved in principle at its two-day session in Brussels the "step-by-step approach" to modernising the U.S. tactical nuclear weapons so as to "compensate" for the American INF missiles to be liquidated under the Soviet-American INF Treaty. No specific decisions on modernisation has been adopted. "It is simply that we should not adopt such decisions now," a high-ranking leader of the North Atlantic bloc told newsmen.

One notes that lately the appeals to "tone down the debate" on nuclear modernisation have been launched by Manfred Werner, the new NATO secretary general, the American Senators Sam Nunn and David Boren, the U.S. representative in NATO Elton Keel and others. They are all zealous proponents of supplemntary armament in respect of the U.S. nuclear forces in Europe.

Observers note that a broad discussion of such plans and the adoption of specific decisions on these would strengthen the anti-war sentiment in Western Europe and have undesirable consequences for the West German ruling CDU-CSU at the elections in Baden-Wuertenberg and Schleswig-Holstein. It is not however only the matter of elections in the FRG.

It would appear that the vague formulations given by the Nuclear Planning Group mean turning over the authority to carry out concrete measures of nuclear rearmament of NATO to the U.S. Administration. It is presumed that in this Washington will rely on decisions adopted by the North Atlantic Alliance in 1983 in the Canadian city of Montebello. The Montebello decisions have in reality provided for a modernisation of the U.S. nuclear systems in Europe. However those decisions did not contain any references to the time of modernising

NATO's nuclear weaponry o. to the scale of modernisation. It is probably this that now suits the U.S. Administration which prefers to have a blank cheque to adopt decisions as to when and how to increase its nuclear forces in Europe.

The high military command of the USA appears not to have relinquished hopes to resuscitate its odious concept of a "limited nuclear war" in Europe to which the signing of the Soviet-American INF Treaty dealt a body blow.

The Soviet Union has repeatedly stressed that if the implementation of the plans for NATO 's rearmament is not halted, this will set in motion a new spiral of the arms race capable of undermining the positive process that has begun in Soviet-American relations.

Future will show whether the opponents of normalising the military-political situation in Europe will be able to carry out their programme of "nuclear compensation" or common sense will prevail in Washington.

Levin Notes 'Old Thinking'

LD282311 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1800 GMT 28 Apr 88

[Text] The NATO Nuclear Planning Group concluded its work in Brussels today. The heads of the military departments of the NATO states discussed issues pertaining to the bloc's nuclear strategy for 2 days. Here is the latest news commentary with Viktor Levin at the microphone:

[Levin] As one can see from a report which has come in from Brussels, the tone for the work of the session of the Nuclear Planning Group was set by U.S. Defense Secretary Carlucci. He delivered the principal report, and, to judge from the available information, the main points of that report went into the final document.

One of the main issues discussed in Brussels was the modernization of nuclear weapons which are not subject to elimination under the Soviet-U.S. treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles. Consequently, this means missiles with a range of below 500 km. At present, NATO has several hundred such missiles among its armaments. Specialists claim that these types of missiles are obsolete and that they ought to be replaced with more modern ones in the next few years. The question of their replacement had already been covered at the session of the NATO Council, where a decision was taken to return to that issue later. In essence, this position was also confirmed by the Nuclear Planning Group.

On the one hand, the fact that most NATO states prefer not to hurry to make a decision obliging them to implement modernization creates an impression of a realistic approach. However, unfortunately, it has to be noted that, in essence, if the postponement has any positive features in the political sense, it has little meaning on a practical level. It is well known that both the United States and Britain are continuing the development of new shorter-range missiles. Even if a decision on modernization were taken today, these missiles could not appear on the launch sites until several years later. Even less reason to conclude that realism has prevailed in the NATO position is provided by the fact that the Nuclear Planning Group stressed in particular the need to continue to adhere to the strategy of deterrence, of which nuclear arms are an indispensable component. This thesis provides unambiguous evidence that NATO is continuing obstinately to cling to concepts which are described with complete justification as a manifestation of the old thinking, which is fraught with deadly danger for mankind.

Understanding of the need to renounce and eliminate nuclear arms is growing in the whole world now. It is precisely this thesis which is at the root of the new thinking which the Soviet Union is actively advocating and which is meeting with a wider and wider response throughout the world. However, as the decisions of the session of the NATO Nuclear Planning Group confirm, that bloc does not intend to set off on the road of renouncing the use of nuclear arms. Besides, references to the alleged fact that deterrence is necessary in the face of the superior armed forces of the Warsaw Pact Organization do not stand up to criticism, if only in light of the fact that the Soviet Union's proposal to exchange official data on the quantity and numbers of arms and armed forces in Europe is rejected by the United States.

Fedorov Commentary

LD282235 Moscow TASS in English 2208 GMT 28 Apr 88

[Text] Moscow April 28 TASS—TASS news analyst Servey Fedorov writes:

Certain circles in the West are demonstrating approaches to solution of problems of the future with the yardsticks of the thinking of yesterday, instead of using the favourable tendencies, that appeared after the signing of the Soviet-American Treaty on the Elimination of the Intermediate-Range and Shorter-Range Missiles, for stabilizing the military-political situation in the European continent.

This exactly is evidenced by a number of provisions of the concluding communique which was adopted by the Brussels session of the NATO nuclear planning group. Such are primarily the unfounded assertions in the communique that the treaty-envisaged elimination of a whole class of nuclear armaments will not prevent the Soviet Union from continuing its obvious efforts in modernizing and perfecting the armed forces.

Intimidating the European public with the Soviet Union's build up of its advantages in other areas, including conventional armaments, chemical weapons and nuclear forces, which are not covered by the INF Treaty, the NATO strategists are trying in the first place to

justify the build up and modernization of their own nuclear armaments, which allegedly do not violate the letter and the spirit of the treaty.

But, as was noted by the British newspaper OBSERVER, realization of the NATO's plans might bring to nought reduction of armaments under the agreement on elimination globally of nuclear missiles with a range from 500 to 5,500 kilometres. Here is far from being the complete list of measures of "compensation" and "modernization", which the NATO men are going to carry out in accordance with the formula "build-up new armaments while reducing the old ones":

—By the mid-1990s it is planned to aim at the European theatre of operations 1,300 air-based cruise missiles;

—The NATO leadership plans to deploy in Europe and in water areas, adjacent to the continent, over 600 ground-based ballistic and cruise missiles, 380 sea-based cruise missiles;

—A new system capable of flying 350-400 kilometres after its launch from aircraft will be designed on the basis of the present-day American ballistic air-to-ground SRAM-2 missile;

—It is planned to transfer to the European region BV-111 planes, and, possible, long-range bombers B-1, B-52. American B-16 planes will be redeployed from Spain to Italy—closer to frontiers of socialist countries;

—The build up of "independent" nuclear forces of Britain and France will continue.

As was aptly said by one West German journalist, the NATO is leading things to changing a knife at the temple of Europe to a pistol aimed at its heart.

As to chemical weapons, it is opportune to recall here that the proposal was made to NATO on the early elimination of chemical weapons at the May last year Berlin conference of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty member states. The socialist states reaffirmed there their readiness to complete elaboration of an international convention on the prohibition, destruction of the existing stocks of chemical weapons and the industrial base for their production. The stand of the United States which, as different from the Soviet one, practically remains unchanged since 1984, is the main obstacle to the Geneva negotiations on this question which are under way in Geneva.

And, finally, about the conventional armaments. The document "on the military doctrine of the Warsaw Treaty member states" reaffirms their allegiance to the program of reduction of troops and conventional armaments in Europe by 25 per cent early in 1990s. Such reductions could be held simultaneously and in a package with tactical nuclear systems. Parallel with implementation of the proposed reductions the Warsaw Treaty member states deem it necessary to work out new measures that would make it possible to come over in the future to even more substantial reductions of troops, armaments and military expenditures before the year of 2000. Concrete proposals to that effect are on the table of negotiations. The NATO side is hampering their realization, just as many other things that can promote normalisation of the situation in Europe.

West Appears Reluctant To Lose Naval 'Edge'
PM290951 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 28 Apr 88 Second Edition p 4

[V. Kalugin article: "On the Seas and Oceans. The Naval Aspect of International Security"]

[Text] In the course of the March meeting of the USSR and U.S. foreign ministers in Washington, the Soviet side touched, inter alia, on the subject of naval forces. What provoked this and what does it mean?

Most components of the USSR and United States and the Warsaw Pact and NATO military potentials have today been drawn into the process of arms limitation, reduction, and elimination. An historic accord has been secured on the elimination of intermediate- and shorter-range missiles. Strategic offensive and space armaments, questions of ending nuclear tests, banning chemical weapons, and reducing chemical armaments and armed forces are the subject of vigorous discussion. Confidence-building and verification measures referring to these armaments are materializing.

Naval arms, which still largely remain outside the framework of the negotiation process, are one of the largest "lacunae" in this process. The arms race on the seas constitutes a serious and ever-increasing threat to peace. At present a considerable proportion of the arsenal of mass destruction systems accumulated in the world is sited on the oceans and at sea. Armadas of modern ships with hitherto unprecedented strike force at their disposal are concentrated on the earth's oceans.

Naval armaments constitute an ever-increasing threat for strategic predictability and stability. For instance, unlike U.S. surface- and air-launched strategic offensive armaments, which can only be used with presidential consent, U.S. sea-launched ballistic missiles can be launched by the commander of an individual submarine without the knowledge of his command. Herein lies the most serious threat of an unsanctioned nuclear attack. Mutual experience shows that accidents involving submarines with nuclear weapons on board also present a danger.

The chronology of conflict situations in various hotspots of the earth in the last few years alone illustrates that active use is made of naval forces to exert military and political pressure on Third World countries. Let us recall U.S. ships' bombardment of the coast of Lebanon, the provocation against Libya in the Gulf of Sidra, the

buildup of U.S. and other NATO countries' naval forces in the Persian Gulf, and numerous demonstrations imbued with the spirit of "gunboat diplomacy." The well-known actions of U.S. ships which have intruded into our country's territorial waters for hostile purposes in the Black Sea and in the Far East are potentially explosive.

The plans for building up naval armaments on NATO's northern and southern flanks, if they are regarded in the light of the upcoming elimination of intermediate- and shorter-range missiles and also the reduction in conventional ground forces armaments and armed forces in Europe, cannot be considered anything but attempts to circumvent this treaty and gain the upper hand over the Warsaw Pact.

These are the factors which are impelling the Soviet Union to devote greater efforts to include this component of the arms race in the negotiating process to guarantee international security.

Efforts to secure U.S. consent to the sides' setting a ceiling on long-range sea-launched nuclear-tipped cruise missiles have now been successful. The outline of a verification mechanism applicable to these missiles has begun to emerge. The concept of a 50-percent reduction in strategic offensive arms provides for corresponding reductions in this sort of weapon based on submarines. Progress in these areas illustrates that a reduction in naval armaments is not only necessary but also possible.

In recent years on several occasions the Soviet Union has put forward specific proposals aimed at ending the naval arms race in various regions of the world. These initiatives, expounded by M.S. Gorbachev in Vladivostok, Delhi, Murmansk, and Belgrade concerning the Asia-Pacific region, the Indian Ocean, northern Europe, and the Mediterranean respectively, and also the proposals concerning naval activity in the Persian Gulf form an integrated, comprehensive program of a global nature which can be applied to specific regions taking into consideration their specific characteristics. The task of reducing and then eliminating all types of sea-launched nuclear armaments is an inalienable part of the historic program to eliminate nuclear weapons by the year 2000.

The Soviet Union is ready to begin reductions by restricting the size of navies in specific maritime regions. So, with regard to the Mediterranean it is proposed as a first step to freeze by 1 July this year the number of ships and the potential of the USSR and U.S. naval forces here and then set limits for them. Measures in this area to reduce naval forces, their activity, numbers, and the scale of exercises are also envisaged with regard to other oceans and seas.

Official Washington often tries to explain away the buildup in its naval forces by its desire to secure communications linking America to other continents. But Soviet proposals directly provide for ensuring the security of intensive shipping lanes in the open sea, international straits, and areas of seasonal fishing, in particular, by means of accords renouncing the holding of naval exercises there and banning the concentration of naval groupings.

Another area of the Soviet plan, in particular, with regard to the Asia-Pacific region and the seas around the north of Europe is the proposal to create agreed regions where operations by submarine forces and systems are to be banned. This is intended to strengthen strategic stability, since it equally restricts both sides' chances of destroying submarines' strategic retaliatory strike potential, which is the main guarantor of retribution against an aggressor.

The proposal to extend confidence-building measures to the naval sphere is one of the key links in our complex of initiatives: notification about the transfer of warships and military exercises, the invitation of observers to them, and appropriate monitoring measures. Such reciprocal measures have proved their worth well with regard to ground forces throughout Europe. Their extension to naval forces, taking into consideration, of course, the latter's specific characteristics, would be logical if you consider Western calls for openness and predictability in the military sphere which have recently sounded like a "denunciatory" propaganda protest directed against us.

This approach to naval forces is logical, equitable, and fair. Nevertheless Washington and its allies have hitherto rejected from the outset even the initiation of dialogue in this sphere. You do not have far to search for the West's real motives in adopting this position. The United States and NATO now have the edge in terms of an absolute majority in naval arms systems. For instance, the United States has overwhelming superiority in terms of aircraft-carriers. NATO is approximately three times superior to the Warsaw Pact in terms of large warships, has two and a half times as many naval aircraft, and puts to sea double the overall tonnage. Not only does Washington not dispute this correlation of forces: On the contrary, U.S. official documents blatantly proclaim their intention to use their superiority at sea to "threaten Soviet interests on a global scale."

The situation is also exacerbated by the fact that the U.S. "new ocean strategy" proclaimed in 1986 is of an overtly offensive character. In extensively publicizing it, the U.S. Department of the Navy indicates in no uncertain terms that Western naval forces can decisively influence the course and outcome of a future war.

Such calculations are, naturally, illusory. The USSR's naval forces have sufficient potential to foil any aggressive plans. Efficiently enough. Soviet naval doctrine is of a definitely pronounced defensive character based on the principle of defense sufficiency; that is, sufficiency to repulse an aggressor.

At the same time it must be admitted that the plans for "supremacy at sea," the exacerbation of the naval arms race, and the elaboration of a provocative offensive doctrine for using naval arms which are being hatched by U.S. and allied naval circles constitute a serious threat to the cause of peace and directly contravene agreed principles of strengthening mutual security and stability by arms reduction.

Reducing naval confrontation on the oceans and seas has now become a very topical, acute problem indeed. The Soviet Union is proposing to convene a special international conference or, in the last resort, a special session of the UN Security Council on the aforementioned questions.

The Warsaw Pact members stated in an appeal to the NATO states and to all members of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe adopted at the Sofia session of the Warsaw Pact Foreign Ministers Committee that one of the priority tasks today is the initiation of talks involving the major naval powers, especially states possessing nuclear weapons and also other interested states, on restricting and banning naval activity in agreed waters, limiting and reducing naval armaments, and extending confidence-building measures to the seas and oceans in the aim of guaranteeing security and freedom of navigation.

This invites constructive dialogue in order to expand and deepen the process of consolidating international security.

Foreign Ministry's Perfilyev Conducts Briefing

Benin Nuclear Dumping Denied

LD281248 Moscow TASS in English 1237 GMT 28 Apr 88

["Soviet Foreign Ministry Denies BBC Hoax"—TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow April 28 TASS—The African service of the British Broadcasting Corp. in a dispatch by its correspondent from Paris on April 26 claimed that the Soviet Union had buried radioactive waste in Benin for several years.

"These claims are utterly absurd, this is a typical example of disinformation," a Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman told a briefing here today.

Vadim Perfilyev, deputy head of the ministry's Information Directorate, said to Soviet and foreign journalists that the Soviet Union had never dumped radioactive waste in Benin or other countries.

"We categorically reject these insinuations," the ministry spokesman said.

Problems Remain Before Summit

LD281401 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1244 GMT 28 Apr 88

["Summit Meeting—Making Maximum Use of the Remaining Time"—TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow, 28 Apr (TASS)—A month is left before the summit meeting between Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary and U.S. President Ronald Reagan, and the Soviet side proceeds from the premise that this time should be used with maximum efficiency to ensure that the meeting in Moscow is a success. This was stated at the briefing today by Vadim Perfilyev, deputy head of the Information Directorate of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs. In the first place, a solution should be reached to the central problem: further progress in the preparation of the treaty on a 50 percent reduction of strategic offensive weapons under conditions of observing the ABM Treaty and not departing from it during the agreed period.

During the recent visit to the USSR by U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz, the sides managed to come considerably closer in their positions, in particular on such key issues as the working out of an agreement on observing the ABM Treaty on the basis of the joint Soviet-U.S. statement on the outcome of the Washington summit meeting.

"Although a good number of problems still remain that must be solved in the process of drafting the strategic offensive weapons treaty, on the whole the sides have now arrived at the same position from which, with efforts by both sides, rapid advancement is possible, Vadim Perfilyev said. The desire to go through all aspects of the treaty thoroughly, a realistic assessment of the remaining differences in positions cannot, however, serve as a basis for a slower rate of work on the Geneva documents and postponing difficult issues until "better times," as they say. Meanwhile, such trends have recently been observed in the pronouncement by high-ranking U.S. spokesmen.

Such an approach cannot but cause serious concern. We are now convinced, emphasized the spokesman of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs, that the ardor of the delegations in Geneva should not be dampened but that everything should be done in the spirit of the Washington accord to intensify the efforts to work out the treaty.

U.S. Human Rights Breaches

LD281259 Moscow TASS in English 1246 GMT 28 Apr 88

["Soviet Spokesman on Human Rights Problem in USA"—TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow April 28 TASS—Following the talks in Moscow, U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz said the United States would continue to raise human rights questions before us, the questions which, in the opinion of the Americans, 'create problems', Vadim Perfilyev, deputy head of the Information Directorate of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs, said at a briefing here today.

With such a presentation of the subject, Perfilyev went on to say, one may get the wrong idea that the problems are raised only from one side. "It is overlooked that the discussion of human rights issues at bilateral meetings, to quote Mr Shultz himself, is a street with two-way traffic."

The Soviet public is concerned over the state of affairs with the observance of human rights in the United States. Appropriate materials are often published in the Soviet press.

Reflecting this concern, Vadim Perfilyev pointed out, our representatives at talks raise specific instances of violations of human rights in the United States. Attention is being drawn, for example, to discrepancy between the U.S. legal practice and the universally accepted international standards in the field of human rights. The United States is known to have not ratified the international covenants on human rights.

"Apparently," Vadim Perfilyev emphasized, "we shall raise appropriate questions at the forthcoming meeting in Moscow, too".

At the same time, he said, our approach is notable for readiness in a constructive spirit to consider mutual anxieties and to find solutions to specific questions without interference in the internal affairs of each other.

"We are guided by the assumption that a humanitarian dialogue should serve rather than impede a positive development of Soviet-American relations".

Kabul Explosion Kills Seven

LD281334 Moscow TASS in English 1326 GMT 28 Apr 88

[Text] Moscow April 28 TASS—An explosion detonated in downtown Kabul on Wednesday killed seven people and wounded 29, a Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman said today.

Vadim Perfilyev, addressing newsmen at a briefing here, specified that explosives had been planted in a lorry from Pakistan. The driver was detained. The Afghan authorities were conducting an inquiry.

The terrorist action carried out by opposition forces could not but cause wrath and indignation of all honest people favouring a peaceful settlement in Afghanistan, said the ministry spokesman.

U.S. Airlifts Afghan Aid

LD281429 Moscow TASS in English 1423 GMT 28 Apr 88

[Text] Moscow April 28 TASS—By TASS diplomatic correspondent:

The ASSOCIATED PRESS agency has quoted a U.S. official spokesman as saying that the USA airlifted emergency military aid to the Afghan mujahidin to "compensate for the weapons and ammunition, which were destroyed as a result of an explosion in an arms depot in Pakistan," a briefing here today was told by Vadim Perfilyev, deputy head of the Information Directorate of the USSR Foreign Ministry.

If this report is in accord with reality, he said, the airlift of weapons can be described only as a violation by the USA of its commitments under the Geneva agreements as one of the guarantors of settlement. The declaration on international guarantees signed by the USA envisages that the U.S. side should refrain from interference in Afghanistan's home affairs.

Arms supplies to Afghan counter-revolutionaries are also in conflict with the provisions of the Afghan-Pakistani agreement on the principles of mutual relations and, in particular, on non-interference, according to which Pakistan has committed itself not to allow in its territory equipment of mercenaries of any origin for carrying out hostile actions against Afghanistan.

Speaking on the Soviet Government's statement in connection with the signing in Geneva on April 14 this year of accords on a political settlement of the situation around Afghanistan, Vadim Perfilyev emphasized that they opened up a qualitatively new stage in the settlement of the whole Afghan problem—a practical stage. "We trust that the observance of the Geneva accords is the most important prerequisite for restoring peace on the long-suffering soil of Afghanistan, firm establishment of Afghanistan as an independent and non-aligned state, the spokesman for the USSR Foreign Ministry said.

"The further destiny of political settlement around Afghanistan now depends on how consistently and vigorously the whole complex of the commitments made by the sides is implemented."

"The Soviet Union intends to act in full conformity with the Geneva accords, adhere to its provisions strictly and undeviatingly," Vadim Perfilyev stressed.

Soviet-Pakistani Ties Viewed

LD281501 Moscow TASS in English 1451 GMT 28 Apr 88

[Text] Moscow April 28 TASS—"Soviet-Pakistan relations witnessed ups and downs, as well as complex periods. However, a wealth of experience in political contacts, mutually advantageous technical and economic cooperation and contacts in other areas has been accumulated by now," Vadim Perfilyev, deputy head of the Information Directorate of the USSR Foreign Ministry, told the news briefing here today. The briefing was devoted to the 40th anniversary of the establishment of diplomatic relations between the Soviet Union and Pakistan.

"It is an open secret," he continued, "that in the past few years the failure to settle the situation around Afghanistan was a serious obstacle in the way of the development of relations between our countries. Today when the Geneva accords on the political settlement of the situation around Afghanistan have been signed, it is the duty of all states, Pakistan in the first place, to help and not to prevent the Afghan people from living in peace. What is needed for this purpose is strict compliance by all signatories to the Geneva accords with the commitments formulated in the agreements. In particular, Pakistan put its signature under the obligation to prevent within its territory the presence, harbouring, in camps and bases or otherwise, organizing, training, financing, equipping and arming of political and any other groups for the purpose of subversion against Afghanistan."

Implementing the Geneva accords in full, Vadim Perfilyev said, will help create favourable prospects for opening a new chapter in relations between the Soviet Union and Pakistan. "We are close neighbours, and we only stand to benefit from constructive cooperation."

Syrian-Palestinian Talks Welcomed

LD281426 Moscow TASS in English 1410 GMT 28 Apr 88

[Text] Moscow April 28 TASS—The Soviet Union has welcomed the news of the recent talks in Damascus between the Palestinian and Syrian leaders, a Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman said today.

Vadim Perfilyev, deputy head of the ministry's Information Directorate, told a briefing here that "it is important that the trend towards rallying the Arabs continued gaining strength lately.

The meeting in Damascus made a weighty contribution to that process.

The turn in Syrian-Palestinian relations created a fair groundwork to collective efforts by Arab countries to find a comprehensive settlement to the Arab-Israeli conflict.

An all-Arab summit, for which preparations have been launched, could become an important milestone along that path."

All these new factors in the inter-Arab scene, said the spokesman, could and should play a key part in the efforts to build a lasting peace in the Middle East and convene an international conference with the participation of all sides concerned, including the PLO, and five permanent members of the U.N. Security Council.

The Soviet Union, Perfilyev said, would continue to consistently support the unity of action of the Arab patriotic forces and constructive cooperation of all who were interested in establishing a lasting peace in the Middle East, in the fair solution of the Palestinian problem.

He said that Soviet public organisations had handed over to the U.N. diplomatic mission in Cyprus another batch of material aid to be distributed among the Palestinian population in the Israeli-occupied territories.

The first batch, brought to Cyprus on April 15, had already been delivered by sea to the Gaza Strip with assistance from the U.N. Relief and Works Agency.

'Openness' on Chemical Arms Needed

LD281443 Moscow TASS in English 1429 GMT 28 Apr 88

[Text] Moscow April 28 TASS—The Soviet Union is consistently for greater trust and openness in the field of chemical weapons, Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman Vadim Perfilyev told a briefing here today.

Perfilyev, a deputy chief of the ministry's Information Directorate, said all the activities of the Soviet delegation to the conference on disarmament in Geneva that concern chemical weapons have been subordinate to fostering such an atmosphere of trust among chemical weapons states as would set the stage for concluding a convention to ban chemical warfare agents.

The Soviet Union, the spokesman continued, regards as valuable the joint statement of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and the Social Democratic Party of Germany, which has been published in the newspaper RUDE PRAVO as a followup to the three parties' May 21, 1986 document "The Principles and Guidelines for Future Talks Between the GDR, Czechoslovakia and the FRG on Creating a Zone Free From Chemical Weapons in Central Europe".

The proposals made in the statement for immediately opening talks between the GDR, Czechoslovakia and the FRG to rid their territories of chemical weapons or bar such weapons out of their territories and for other countries' assistance to these goals blend in with efforts to secure a full ban on chemical warfare agents, Perfilyev said.

The implementation of these proposals would have significance far transcending the frameworks of bilateral relations between the three countries, he added, noting that the Soviet side has repeatedly voiced support for the efforts of the GDR and Czechoslovakia along these lines.

Sukharev Questioned at Moscow Briefing 28 Apr

Azerbaijan Situation Updated

LD281350 Moscow TASS in English 1339 GMT 28 Apr 88

[Text] Moscow April 28 TASS—The first deputy prosecutor-general of the USSR, Aleksandr Sukharev, was asked about the recent developments in Sumgait, Soviet Azerbaijan, at today's briefing for Soviet and foreign journalists.

He said that 32 people had died: 26 Armenians and six Azerbaijanis.

More than 80 people were arrested. Some cases, involving hooliganism and participation in mass unrest, had already been examined, Sukharev disclosed.

Most major cases, involving murder and rape, had also been examined and 3-4 cases had been submitted to the Supreme Court of Azerbaijan.

The investigation was being conducted by the Azerbaijani Prosecutor's Office with necessary supervision from the Prosecutor's Office of the USSR.

In line with the Soviet Constitution, the Azerbaijani judiciary authorities will consider the cases in keeping with the procedural guarantees envisaged by soviet legislation.

Replying to another question, Sukharev said that no representatives of local authorities or other officials had been arrested.

Anti-Nuclear Lawyer Group Meets

LD281358 Moscow TASS in English 1345 GMT 28 Apr 88

[Text] Moscow April 28 TASS—Legal experts seeking to outlaw nuclear weapons have founded an International Association of Lawyers Against Nuclear Arms (IALANA) at a constituent meeting which took place in Stockholm on April 8 and 9, IALANA Co-President Alexander Sukharev said here today.

Sukharev, first deputy procurator-general of the USSR [title as received], told a briefing that while being similar to other international anti-war organizations, IALANA has its professional distinctive features.

Its statute adopted at the conference sets the aim of publicizing international legislation that regulates the issues of reducing and eliminating weapons of mass destruction, including international agreements, treaties and commitments, he said.

The people should know that to use or threaten to use nuclear weapons is to commit a crime against humanity and a gross violation of international law, Sukharev continued.

IALANA, he said, plans to work out a supplementary mechanism in international law that would help to consolidate the nascent process of reducing nuclear weapons and eventually eliminating them altogether and a supplementary mechanism for monitoring the process.

Speaking of different interpretations of interational agreements, the U.N. Charter and international legislation, Sukharev said "the pace in this respect is often set by forces which interpret international laws and accords according to their wishes".

"An international, pluralist movement of lawyers free from lop-sided influences can provide the world's public opinion with competent, independent and objective information pinpointing those responsible for violations of international legality, accords and the norms and principles of international law," he added.

Being aware of their special responsibility for using their expertise in the campaign against nuclear arms, the IALANA members, Sukharev said, undertake to make international efforts to mobilize lawyers, law teachers and judges to secure the destruction of these arms.

On behalf of IALANA he hailed the signature of the INF Treaty and uged its speediest ratification. The IALANA co-president expressed the hope that the upcoming summit meeting in Moscow will lead to an agreement on 50-percent cuts in Soviet and U.S. strategic offensive weapons.

Meeting of Pact, NATO Retired Officers Ends

LD282319 Moscow TASS in English 2002 GMT 28 Apr 88

[Text] Vienna April 28 TASS—The meeting of retired generals and admirals of the Warsaw Treaty and NATO member states ended here today. The meeting was keynoted by the motto "European security in conditions of elimination of the intermediate-range and shorter-range missiles".

The participants in the meeting exchanged opinions on the significance of the Soviet-American INF Treaty, the role of European countries in attaining a 50-per cent reduction in strategic offensive armaments. Discussed were questions linked with prevention of the so-called compensation measures now demanded by NATO influential circles, with overcoming the "enemy image" stereotype as the requirement of the new military and political thinking.

In the concluding document of the meeting there is the call upon General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Mikhail Gorbachev and U.S. President Ronald Reagan to use every opportunity opened up by the present-day international situation for continued negotiations on reduction of armaments and on disarmament.

Indian Ocean Peace Session Ends in Madagascar

LD290820 Moscow TASS in English 0629 GMT 29 Apr 88

[Text] Antanarivo April 29 TASS—By TASS correspondents Pavel Myltsev and Kirill Strzhyzhovskiy:

The international conference "The Indian Ocean—A Peace Zone" closed in the capital of Madagascar on Thursday. It was co-sponsored by the World Peace Council (WPC), the Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Organization and the Malagasy Committee for Peace and Friendship Among Nations.

Some 40 delegations representing public circles, international organizations and national liberation movements of the world discussed for three days vital problems of socio-economic development, the fight against the intrigues of international imperialism and the South African apartheid regime, ways of creating a nuclear-free zone in the Indian Ocean basin.

We are now at a turning point of history, the closing session of the forum was told by WPC President Romesh Chandra. The first real steps on the way of disarmament

have been made. Due to the signing of the INF Treaty between the USSR and the USA, the accords of Afghanistan, a favourable climate has set in the international relations making it possible to settle constructively disputable problems and regional conflicts. An overwhelming majority of the members of the international community has realised the simple truth: It is impossible to ensure one's own security through military methods and to the detriment of the others. The sole possible way out in this nuclear age is to create a comprehensive security system. We are hopefully looking into the next millennium, we wish to enter it without the U.S. military base in Diego Garcia Island, without ships carrying nuclear weapons on board in the Indian Ocean, without the U.S. Marines in the region. In the documents of the conference we declared for a resumption of the Soviet-American dialogue on the Indian Ocean which was once broken off through the fault of the United States. Children shall inherit from us a world free from nuclear weapons, from the scourges of hunger, poverty and backwardness, Romesh Chandra stressed.

Warsaw Pact Submits Mediterranean Proposals

LD281735 Moscow TASS in English 1646 GMT 28 Apr 88

[Text] Vienna April 28 TASS—The Warsaw Treaty delegations today submitted a joint draft section on issues related to security and cooperation in the Mediterranean to be included in the final document of the Vienna follow-up meeting on European security and cooperation.

The socialist countries suggested a comprehensive solution of the region's topical issues: Lowering the high military confrontation, strengthening confidence, security and stability in the Mediterranean, broadening the framework of cooperation of the Mediterranean countries in the economic, scientific and cultural fields and protecting ecological systems of the Mediterranean.

Representatives of socialist countries stressed in their statements that the implementation of Mikhail Gorbachev's latest initiatives, advanced in Belgrade last March, would contribute to strengthening peace and fruitful cooperation in the Mediterranean.

Association Admitted to Local Authorities Union

LD281540 Moscow TASS in English 1530 GMT 28 Apr 88

[Text] Stockholm April 28 TASS—The meeting of the Executive Committee of the International Union of Local Authorities (IULA), which was attended by a USSR delegation on an observer status, has unanimously passed a decision on admitting to that organization the Association for Relations Between Soviet and Foreign Cities on a full membership status. An agreement in principle to this effect was reached at the IULA congress in Rome in September 1987.

"We welcome the joining of our organization by the Soviet association," TASS correspondent T. Lariokhin was told by IULA president, Chairman of the Association of Local Authorities of Sweden Lars Ericsson. Although the formal decision of the Executive Committee is subject to endorsement by the congress scheduled to be held in Perth (Australia) in September 1989 it actually signifies that the Soviet side will from now on be a full-fledged participant in all the IULA activities. The main objectives of our organization, which, for that matter, will be 75 years old this year, are exchanges of information and know-how in arranging for the activities of the local authorities, protection of their interests both at the national and international levels. We believe that the Soviet associations' participation in IULA activities will be also useful from the viewpoint of perestroyka currently under way in the USSR. The Soviet Union has accumulated rich and unique experience, considering the scope of that country, of the activities by the local bodies of power."

United States & Canada

U.S., Pakistan Break Agreement on Afghanistan

LD282132 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1655 GMT 28 Apr 88

[From the "International Diary" program, presented by Boris Andrianov]

[Text] Hello, comrades. I'll begin by summarizing a telegram that has today attracted the attention of all the foreign mass information services without exception. It was transmitted from Islamabad by the U.S. agency AP, quoting an official U.S. spokesman in the Pakistan capital who asked not to be named. As we shall see, that request was not made for nothing; for the report says that the United States is airlifting to Pakistan large consignments of weapons destined for the armed formations of the Afghan opposition. According to this anonymous U.S. representative, the arms lift is at present going ahead at top speed. Quoting this person, AP notes that the United States is making the emergency deliveries of arms to the Afghan antigovernment formations in an attempt to make up the losses resulting from this month's explosion at an arms depot in Pakistan. The U.S. representative said that measures will be—or already have been—taken to guarantee that this shortage of arms will be averted. A major effort has been made to compensate for the losses by means of the airlift. If the report is true, then this airlifting of arms cannot be regarded other than as a violation by the United States of its obligations under the Geneva agreements as one of the guarantors of the settlement. The declaration on international guarantees, which the United States signed, says that the U.S. side must refrain from interfering in Afghanistan's internal affairs. And it emerges that Pakistan has broken its undertaking not to allow equipment for the mercenaries, whatever its origin, to be brought into its territory for the purpose of hostile operations against Afghanistan.

U.S. Continues Arms Supply

LD282001 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1430 GMT 28 Apr 88

[Text] According to an ASSOCIATED PRESS report from Islamabad, the United States is airlifting large consignments of arms into Pakistan, intended for the Afghan opposition groups. Over to Mikhail Leshchinskiy, our correspondent in Kabul:

[Leshchinskiy] The Islamabad report reached Kabul just a few hours after Afghan radio and television broadcast the Soviet Government statement that commended the Geneva agreements and expressed the desire that they should be rigorously observed. Just such a position, incidentally, is adopted by the Afghan leadership, too, as was reiterated this evening during a press conference given by Najibullah, president of the Republic of Afghanistan, for foreign journalists. At the same time, the Soviet Government statement expresses regret at the stand taken by several politicians and statesmen, who, immediately after the signing of the Geneva agreements, began to issue statements contradicting the spirit and letter of those agreements. In this sense, the Islamabad report is, I think, an example that corroborates that thought. I would like to point out that, according to the report from Islamabad, the forthcoming deliveries planned by the United States will be made by air and urgently. Why the urgency? It is evidently a matter of doing something to reassure the irreconcilable Afghan opposition, which, as is known, does not agree with the Geneva accords and has declared its intention to continue the war until the overthrow of the existing Government of Afghanistan—and voices have even been heard saying that, by signing the Geneva documents, the United States has betrayed the members of the Afghan armed and political opposition.

As for the opposition, they are responsible not only for statements but also for very real action. Military operations have been stepped up in several border areas, and the terror continues. [video shows wreckage of a truck near a river] Yesterday was another dramatic day in Kabul. A truck that had come from Pakistan and was literally crammed with explosives blew up in the city center at about noon. Several people were killed, dozens were injured, houses were destroyed, and public buildings were damaged. [video shows more pictures of the wrecked truck, with firemen and onlookers]

Such are the positions, intentions, and some of the deeds of the sides that are involved in the Afghan conflict today—exactly 2 weeks after the signing of the Geneva accords.

Mideast Experts on U.S. Policy, Shultz Visit

PM270901 [Editorial Report] Damascus AL-BA'TH in Arabic on 15 April 1988 carries on pages 8 and 11 an interview by a number of reporters with Professor Karen Khachaturov, CPSU Central Committee member; Oleg Fomin, deputy chairman of the Soviet-Syrian Friendship Society; and Aleksandr Krasnov, chief editor of NOVOSTI's Middle Eastern and African Department.

In reply to a question about Shultz' shuttle tours and the U.S. position, Fomin says that the new development in the U.S. position is that the Americans have now begun, for the first time in at least the last 2 years, to talk of the need to resolve the Middle East problem peacefully and convene an international conference for this purpose, whereas in the past they rejected the idea of convening such a conference. On the Palestinian problem, Fomin suggests that it is "crystal clear" that the Americans want neither self-determination nor the establishment of an independent Palestinian state, and moreover that the Americans do not want PLO participation in the international conference; nor do they make any reference to the fate of Jerusalem in their proposals. "We are seeking

clarification of the details, bearing in mind that most of the Arab states consider this plan, which the Americans claim is new, to be similar to the Camp David accords, but in a new wrapping."

Asked whether recent U.S. moves in the region have been prompted by the uprising in the occupied territories, Fomin agrees that the Americans "were forced to make a move; it was not good intention that prompted them to do so." In reply to the same question, Krasnov says that Soviet experts in political and Middle Eastern affairs believe that Shultz has left his initiative and his proposals until too late and that the present U.S. administration will not have time to take the measures necessary for convening an international conference. "Thus, it can be concluded that current U.S. moves in the region are nothing but an attempt to rescue Israel from the critical dilemma into which the Palestinian people's uprising has driven it."

On the Soviet Union's role in securing a just settlement to the Middle East problem, Khachaturov says that resolving the Afghan problem will constitute the beginning for major Soviet political efforts in the Middle East and will push the Middle East problem to a qualitatively new level.

On the U.S.-Israeli alliance and Israel's possession of nuclear weapons, Fomin says that Israel's possession of nuclear weapons "poses a threat" to the Arab states as well as the socialist states and the Soviet Union.

When the U.S.-Israeli strategic alliance was established, Fomin says, it was said to be directed against the Soviet Union. "Obviously the objective was to deceive the Arabs, since the U.S.-Israeli strategic alliance is aimed not at the Soviet Union alone, but primarily against the Arabs."

In reply to a question about the upcoming Gorbachev-Reagan summit and whether it will deal with pressing regional issues, Krasnov says that priority will be given to the question of dismantling nuclear weapons, "since we believe that the fate of mankind depends on that." Krasnov says that solving the problems of nuclear disarmament and the arms race would create a suitable climate for resolving other problems facing mankind, most notable of which is the Middle East problem. "We believe that Soviet-U.S. dialogue on the Middle East problem must help the parties concerned to reach a peaceful settlement to the problem. I believe that the Middle East problem will be included once again on the agenda of the Moscow summit."

On the emigration of Soviet Jews, Krasnov says that the Soviet Union operates according to the international charter on human rights and in line with the Helsinki resolutions on human rights. Emigration is a right for everyone—"with exceptions, of course." The question of the emigration of Soviet Jews "is used as propaganda by the West."

Joint Standing Consultative Commission Ends Work

LD281705 Moscow TASS in English 1639 GMT 28 Apr 88

[Text] Geneva April 28 TASS—The Soviet-American Standing Consultative Commission closed its regular session here today.

The commission was set up in accordance with the memorandum of understanding between the Governments of the USSR and the United States of December 21, 1972 to promote the implementation of the goals and provisions of the Soviet-American agreements on the limitation of strategic arms and on measures to reduce the risk of outbreak of nuclear war.

Comparison of Karpov on Shevardnadze-Shultz

Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian on 26 April on page 5 of the Morning Edition publishes an unattributed report on an interview with V. Karpov by a TASS correspondent under the heading "The 'Baggage' That G. Shultz Brought to the USSR." The IZVESTIYA item has been compared with the TASS International Service in Russian item published in the 25 April Soviet Union DAILY REPORT on pages 30-31 under the subhead "Karpov Describes 'Key' Meeting," revealing the following variations:

Page 30, column two, paragraph three, line thirteen, IZVESTIYA reads: "Each bomber should count as one unit out of the 1,600 launchers permitted to each of the sides, and as 10 units out of the 6,000 nuclear weapons [boyezaryady] which will be permitted to the United States and USSR." (rewording to clarify sentence);

Page 31, column one, third paragraph, line two, IZVESTIYA reads: "...missile limitation and verification [kontrol]. The United States..." (picking up second sentence, substituting "verification" for "control");

Same paragraph, line five, IZVESTIYA reads: "...stability and that verification of them [kontrol za nimi] is possible if..." (substituting "verification of" for "control over");

Fourth paragraph, line three, IZVESTIYA reads: "...on issues involving verification [kontrol] which previously gave rise to certain difficulties and even incomprehension. This also concerns verification [kontrol] of the production of weapons whijch are subject to limitation, verification [kontrol] of mobile ICBM's, verification [kontrol] of the elimination of weapons which are reduced..." (picking up second sentence, standardizing rendering of "kontrol.)"

Ukraine's Masol Receives Shultz During Visit

AU281612 Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 24 Apr 88 p 3

[RATAU report: "A Visit to the Ukrainian SSR Council of Ministers"]

[Text] While in Kiev on 23 April, U.S. Secretary of State, G. Shultz visited V.A. Masol, Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee Politburo member and Council of Ministers chairman.

Prior to their conversation, the visitor remarked that, apart from the official delegation, he was accompanied by a large group of journalists and reporters. And we hope, he said, that people in the United States will see on television how beautiful the Ukrainian capital is in spring, how open and hospitable the Soviet people are, and that they will feel their friendly feelings for the Americans.

V.A. Masol briefed the visitor and those accompanying him on the production potential of the Ukraine, and its part in the national economic complex of the Soviet Union. At the visitor's request, he gave an account of the developing key economic branches, including the agro-industrial complex which is now undergoing big changes. V.A. Masol gave the effectiveness of these changes, particularly in management, land tenure, wages, and the sale of produce, including through cooperative societies and the private sector as concrete examples.

Both sides expressed the hope that the Soviet-American dialogue would continue.

Present at the conversation were: A.A. Bessmertnykh, USSR deputy minister of foreign affairs; V.A. Kravets, Ukrainian SSR minister of foreign affairs; Yu.V.Dubinin, USSR ambassador to the United States; K.P. Boyko, administrator in the Ukrainian SSR Council of Ministers; and V.A. Zgurskiy, Kiev Gorispolkom chairman; and on the American side: P. Nitze, special adviser to the U.S. President and secretary of state; R. Ridgway and C. Redman, deputy secretaries of state; and J. Matlock, U.S. ambassador to the USSR.

Shultz Visit to Kiev

AU281611 Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 24 Apr 88 p 3

[RATAU report: "Kiev Hosts the U.S. Secretary of State"]

[Text] On 23 April G. Shultz, U.S. secretary of state, arrived in the Ukrainian capital city. He was in our country in connection with the discussion on a wide range of problems in Soviet-American relations, and preparations for a new Soviet-American summit.

At Borispol airport decorated with the state flags of the United States, the USSR, and the Ukrainian SSR the visitor was welcomed by V.A. Kravets, Ukrainian SSR minister of foreign affairs; K.P. Boyko, affairs administrator in the Ukrainian SSR Council of Ministers; V.A. Zgurskiy, Kiev Gorispolkom chairman; and other officials.

Among those who came to the Ukrainian capital were also P. Nitze, special adviser to the U.S. President and secretary of state; R. Ridgeway and C. Redman, deputy secretaries of state; and J. Matlock, U.S. ambassador to the USSR.

G. Shultz was received in the Ukrainian SSR Council of Ministers. In the Park of Eternal Glory he laid flowers at the Grave of the Unknown Soldier and paid a minute of silence tribute to the memory of soldiers fallen in the battles for the liberation of the homeland from the German fascist occupiers. The secretary of state had a sightseeing tour of the city, visited the "Sofia Museum" State Architectural and Historical Museum, and Kiev Pecherskiy State Historical and Cultural Preserve. On the tour he stopped over and laid flowers at the monument to Soviet citizens and captured Soviet soldiers and officers shot by the German fascists in the area of Syrets and at Babiy Yar.

"We read and heard a great deal about the drama which took place in the occupied Kiev, including here," George Shultz told the journalists. "The Nazis machine-gunned more than 100,000 peaceful inhabitants. In aspiring to improve the situation in the world, we have to always say to ourselves that a thing like this must never take place again. I myself, you, they, and we all must not forget that."

The secretary of state inspected buildings assigned to the U.S. consulate general in Kiev.

On behalf of the Ukrainian SSR Government, a luncheon in honor of the U.S. secretary of state was given in the Maryinskiy Palace. During the luncheon V.A. Masol, Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee Politburo member and Council of Ministers chairman, and G. Shultz, secretary of state, gave greeting speeches.

On the same day G. Shultz and the persons accompanying him left for Tbilisi. A.A. Bessmertnykh, USSR deputy minister of foreign affairs, and Yu.V. Dubinin, USSR ambassador to the United states, accompanying the G. Shultz on the country tour, left with the visitors.

Adamshin Meets With Crocker in London

LD282341 Moscow World Service in English 2100 GMT 28 Apr 88

[Text] In London the Soviet deputy foreign minister, Anatoliy Adamishin, and the United States assistant secretary of state for African affairs, Chester Crocker, have begun 2 days of consultations. They are discussing

the problems of southern Africa, Namibia, Angola and the Horn of Africa. These consultations are being held under the agreement the Soviet and American leaders achieved at their meeting in Geneva in November 1985.

House Approves Nuclear Moratorium Amendment

LD290931 Moscow TASS in English 0855 GMT 29 APR 88

[Text] Washington April 29 TASS—By TASS correspondent Igor Ignatyev:

The U.S. House of Representatives, which is continuing a debate on the military budget of the USA for the 1989 fiscal year, approved yesterday an amendment concerning a moratorium on nuclear tests. The amendment prohibits nuclear tests with a yield of more than one kiloton a year on condition the Soviet Union adheres to a similar moratorium. 214 representatives voted for the amendment, 186 against.

Yet, as the newspaper "WASHINGTON POST" notes, this measure is chiefly of a symbolic character, since for the past two years the Senate refused to support the stand of the U.S. House of Representatives as regards a limited moratorium on nuclear tests. This provision is also strongly opposed by the Reagan administration. As a result the amendment on a ban on nuclear tests with a yield of more than one kiloton was not included into the final version of the bill on military spending, albeit it was repeatedly endorsed by the House of Representatives.

U.S. Trident-2 Missile Test Fire Reported

LD281252 Moscow TASS in English 1234 GMT 28 Apr 88

[Text] Washington April 28 TASS—A Trident-2 intercontinental ballistic missile for submarines has been test-fired from the U.S. air base at Cape Canaveral.

United Press International said it had been the eleventh test from January 1987 when the first Trident-2 capable of carrying 12 warheads was launched.

The Pentagon is going to conduct 19 more such tests before Trident-2's are installed on Ohio nuclear-powered subs.

Further on Launch

LD290737 Moscow TASS in English 0616 GMT 29 Apr 88

[Text] New York April 29 TASS—The U.S. Navy has conducted a firing test, next in the series, for a Trident-2 submarine-launched missile. The three-stage missile equipped with a dummy warhead was launched from a test range at Canaveral Cape, Florida, Thursday and hit the target at a distance of several thousand miles in the Atlantic Ocean.

This is already the tenth test of this system in the United States. One of the previous launches was unsuccessful. It is planned to carry another nine test firings from a ground launch pad and five as minimum-from aboard a submarine before the missile is adopted for service. Trident-2 is an intercontinental missile capable of carrying ten warheads.

U.S., Soviet Officials Discuss Drug Addiction

LD291019 Moscow TASS in English 1012 GMT 29 Apr 88

[Text] Moscow April 29 TASS—The Soviet Union and the United States held consultations at the Soviet Foreign Ministry on April 28 and 29 to discuss matters connected with efforts to combat drug addiction and drug trafficking, and prospects for bilateral cooperation in the field.

The consultations involved officials from relevant services of the two countries.

The head of the U.S. delegation, Assistant Secretary of State Ann Wrobleski, was received by Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Aleksandr Bessmertnykh.

Publishing Official Describes Talks in U.S.

LD282125 Moscow World Service in English 1710 GMT 28 Apr 88

[Text] A delegation of Soviet mass media officials has returned from the United States. They were invited by the director of the United States Information Agency, Charles Wick, to discuss ways of expanding cooperation in the field of information with their American counterparts. What can be done to help the people of the two countries know each other better? What is the quickest way of shattering the enemy image and coming close to the image of a partner? These questions were central to the meeting. Several commissions worked during the conference. One discussed broader cooperation in publishing and book exchanges. The Soviet Union, in that commission, was represented by the deputy chairman of the National committee for Printing, Publishing, and Bookselling, Dmitriy Mamleyev. He has told Radio Moscow's reporter that he is satisfied with the contacts and plans discussed for cooperation in book publishing.

Dmitriy Mamleyev said that Soviet-American cooperation in that field had increased lately. The Soviet Union, he said, has over the past few years published about 100 million copies of books by American authors. The first ever agreement was signed for exchanging major book exhibitions. They will be held in September and October. Dmitriy Mamleyev said, however, that the Soviet Union had in recent years bought from the United States four times more books than the Americans from the USSR. Mamleyev deplored the fact that the United States had failed to comply with a number of agreements. For instance, he said, it has been agreed to published a 45-volume collection of the best authors. In the Soviet

Union 34 volumes have already been published. Meanwhile, the United States hasn't even started yet. Dmitriy Mamleyev said the Soviet delegates had accepted with satisfaction the invitation from the director of the Library of Congress, Dr Billington, to take part in the young readers' year in 1989. The deputy chairman of the Soviet State Committee for Publishing also said that an international book information center would open in Moscow shortly. It would keep on display the latest editions of fiction and books on science and engineering. This would help Soviet scientists, research institutes, and publishers to keep a close watch on what's new in the book business in other countries.

Siberians Ask Reagan To Free U.S. Indian
PM191355 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 13 Apr 88 Morning Edition p 5

[Unattributed report: "Freedom for L. Peltier!"]

[Text] The well-known U.S. attorney William Kunstler has visited Krasnoyarsk Kray at the invitation of the Khakass Committee in Defense of American Political Prisoner Leonard Peltier. He familiarized the public of the Khakass Autonomous Oblast with the details of the case of the leader of the American Indian movement. On behalf of his client the attorney expressed gratitude to the small Siberian people for their support and their desire to restore justice.

A rally was then held in Abakan, in which several thousand residents of Abakan participated. A decision was adopted there to send open letters to U.S. President Ronald Reagan and Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee:

"To President Ronald Reagan, the White House, Washington, the United States

"Esteemed Mr President!

"We representatives of the 70,000-strong Siberian Khakass people, like all Soviet people, impatiently await your meeting with Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev and hope that it will make an unprecedented contribution to the process of easing international tension and make it irreversible.

"This is our second letter to you. As in the first message, we beg you to save our distant Indian brother Leonard Peltier, who is in Leavenworth Jail on a false charge. This fact is acknowledged by many Nobel Prize winners, U.S. senators, and prominent jurists. In April we met William Kunstler, the Indian leader's attorney, in Khakassia and were once again convinced that Peltier is innocent. We beg you to pardon a courageous son of his people. Such a decision will confirm your fairness and your sincere desire to heed world public opinion.

"We would like to believe that the U.S. President's pen will bring freedom to our Indian brother. For a drop of ink is sufficient to alter the fate of Leonard Peltier, whose release is advocated by millions of people on all continents!

"We wish you, Esteemed Mr President, successes at the Moscow talks. The whole planet will follow their progress."

"To Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, the Kremlin, Moscow

"Esteemed Mikhail Sergeyevich!

"In the age of restructuring, when, as at a time of drifting ice, stereotypes are broken and people not only begin to feel strength within themselves but are also able to influence processes whose shaping was only recently considered the lot of politicians and diplomats, we beg you to heed the voice of a small people from the center of the Asian continent.

"We well understand that the Moscow meeting promises to be the most fruitful in the history of Soviet-U.S. relations and very strenuous. And yet we beg you to discuss with the U.S. President the question of pardoning Leonard Peltier, leader of the American Indian movement.

"It is the opinion of scientists that Khakassians and Indians have a common cultural bed and historical roots. However, it is not only a matter of this. Like all honest people on the planet, we cannot stay silent when an innocent person is in jail, albeit on the other side of the ocean. We have asked Ronald Reagan to pardon the Indians' leader. We hope that you will find an opportunity to tell him of the Soviet people's will. All the planet's honest people dream of seeing Leonard Peltier free!

"On behalf of the people of Khakassia,

"Professor Yakov Sunchugashev, chairman of the Khakass Committee in Defense of Leonard Peltier; Candidate of Historical Sciences Stepan Ulturgashev, rector of Abakan Pedagogical Institute; Vladimir Butanayev, artist."

Soviet, Canadian Teams Reach North Pole 27 Apr
LD290922 Moscow TASS in English 0825 GMT 29 Apr 88

[Text] Kiev April 29 TASS—TASS correspondent Valentin Vernodubenko reports:

"The task was accomplished. All flights necessary to ensure the meeting with the team of Soviet and Canadian skiers at the geographical point of the North Pole were completed within the planned terms", test pilots Sergey Gorbik and Aleksandr Galunenko reported to general designer Petr Balabuyev of the Kiev design bureau named after Oleg Antonov. The pilots returned to Kiev, capital of Soviet Ukraine, following the flight to the North Pole.

The meeting with the expedition, in which the TASS correspondent had luck to take part, passed successfully. The Kiev crews of the two planes AN-74 and AN-26 'B' had to work for over three days on the polar ice cap, an area which is called the top of the world. They brought to the Sredniy Island of the Severnaya Zemlya archipelago in a matter of hours a group of Soviet and foreign journalists and from there moved them by the new transport plane AN-74 (the operation was carried out in several flights) to the drifting station Severniy Polyus-28. A Soviet Government delegation was also flown in there.

MI-8 helicopters of the Kranoyarsk Civil Aviation Department were waiting for the guests there. The same aircraft brought to the Pole the Canadian delegation. The ceremony of a meeting on the northern-most tip of the earth was to take place on April 26. But it so happened that the Canadian delegation was late for several hours—it is unimaginable to foresee everything in the Arctic. So, the meeting was postponed till April 27.

At the same time, there were nobody to replace the Soviet pilots who got tired—the mainland was thousands kilometers away. So, they had to work without a replacement for almost three days. Both crews headed by their commanders Sergey Gorbik and Aleksandr Galunenko, who have ample experience in the work in the arctic, were flying alternately, with two to three hours rest.

Sergey Gorbik and Aleksandr Galunenko and the Arctic-tested expedition with its leader Dmitriy Shapiro and Canadian Maxwell Baxton showed an understanding of each other at once.

"Like test-pilots, we do not always know what awaits us ahead," Maxwell Baxton said. "We have already encountered a lot of difficulties on the route stretching for over a thousand kilometers. I had my big toe frost-bitten. At first, it was a great pain for me to ski. And the daily journey lasts for eight to nine hours with air temperature plunging down to minus 47 degrees centigrade. But I did not lose my heart, for everybody has to go through the rigors of this unusual trip. My fellow skiers cheered me up for which I am boundlessly grateful to the Soviet and Canadian friends".

"Max is a fine fellow indeed", says Dmitriy Shapiro, leader of the expedition. "He suffers but keeps going. And here is his award—he did read the North Pole. Ahead are almost a thousand kilometers. But with such guys as members of our international team we will ski into Cape Columbia by all means".

Trans-Polar Expedition Gathers

LD272223 Moscow TASS in English 1727 GMT 27 Apr 88

[Text] North Pole April 27 TASS—TASS special correspondent Vladimir Mcmillin reports:

Such an event never happened in the North Pole before. About 100 people gathered at the very top of the earth. They greeted here the participants in the international transpolar USSR-North Pole-Canada expedition.

Early in the morning of April 27 the North Pole has become a pole of peace and friendship between the USSR and Canada, between the peoples of the whole world, as the head of the expedition Dmitriy Shparo aptly said.

The bad weather (fog, the air temperature of 20 degrees below zero, centigrade) postponed for a few hours the expedition's meeting with representatives of the governments of Canada and the USSR, journalists who represent here various news agencies and newspapers of the world. Canadian planes arrived somewhat later, than planned. And then at long last, the meeting was held.

All 12 members of the group successfully reached the Pole, their faces frost-bitten, all somewhat tired, but happy smiles on their faces showed that they were in good spirits. Flags of the USSR and Canada fluttered in the air and huge balloons of different colours with the words: Peace, Friendship, USSR, Canada went up into the air.

Speeches of greetings were made by leaders of the delegations of the USSR and Canada, Chairman of the USSR State Weather Service Committee (Goskomgidromet) Yuriy Izrael and Minister of Energy, Mines and Resources of Canada Marcel Masse and also pilot cosmonaut of the USSR Vladimir Aksenov. They congratulated the skiers on successfully completing the first part of their expedition and reaching the Canadian territory. "The participants in the expedition experienced many difficulties on their way of a thousand kilometres", said the head of the Soviet delegation, "but those difficulties brought them close together. The expedition strikingly illustrates that the USSR and Canada can and should live in peace".

"This first international via-Arctic expedition is a pride for our countries. All people keep a close eye over its progress and wish that the skiers should reach the Canadian shores happily," said the Canadian minister.

Speaking in reply, the head of the expedition thanked for the warm welcome, for the assistance being rendered to the group. "We shall do the utmost to reach the end of our way, the more so that the expedition is now closely knit, as never before."

The festive occasion was over. The skiers are to cover almost 800 km on ice of the Arctic Ocean.

Briefs

Canadian Ecology Cooperation

Tbilisi, 18 April (TASS)—The first Soviet-Canadian symposium on problems relating to environmental monitoring and conservation has ended in Tbilisi. Scientists concurred that the changes in the environment caused by man's activities had grown into a global problem, and that the "greenhouse effect" presents a threat to the

entire biosphere. Specialists from the two countries decided to conduct joint research in the sphere of ecology within the framework of the Soviet-Canadian protocol on scientific and technical co-operation which was signed by representatives of the two countries in Ottawa in 1987. [Summary] [*LD210458 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1320 GMT 18 Apr 88*]

Northeast Asia

DPRK Foreign Minister Arrives in Moscow

PM281539 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 28 Apr 88 Second Edition p 4

[Unattributed report: "On Visit to Soviet Union by DPRK Foreign Minister Kim Yong-nam"]

[Excerpts] Kim Yong-nam, member of the Workers' Party of Korea [WPK] Central Committee Politburo, deputy premier of the DPRK Administrative Council, and DPRK foreign minister, arrived in Moscow today on an official friendly visit at the invitation of the Soviet Government. [passage omitted]

The Soviet people cordially welcome the visit to our country of Kim Yong-nam, member of the WPK Central Committee Politburo, deputy premier of the DPRK Administrative Council, and DPRK foreign minister. [Moscow Domestic Service in Russian at 1100 GMT on 28 April in a similar report noted that Kim Yong-nam was greeted at the airport on his arrival by "Rogachev, USSR deputy minister of foreign affairs, and other officials."]

Parliamentary Delegation's Activities in Tokyo

OW2804151588 Moscow in Japanese to Japan 1200 GMT 27 Apr 88

[Text] A Soviet parliamentarian delegation led by Gladkikh, head of the Supreme Soviet USSR-Japan Department, now visiting Japan at the invitation of the Japan-USSR Friendship Parliamentarian Union, called at the Japanese Diet on 26 April and met with Hara, speaker of the House of Representatives, and Fujita, president of the House of Councillors.

During the meetings, the Soviet parliamentary delegation explained in detail the progress of perestroyka, which is being carried out in various fields of life for the Soviet people, and stressed the Soviet desire to expand exchanges of parliamentarians between the two countries. The Japanese side voiced agreement on the expansion of exchanges between the countries and noted that this expansion is indispensable for the rapid advance in Soviet-Japanese relations.

The Soviet delegation also met with Foreign Minister Uno on 26 April. In the meeting, both sides expressed the desire to push ahead with political dialogues. The Soviet parliamentary delegation also met with LDP [Liberal democratic Party] Secretary General Abe, JSP [Japanese Socialist Party] Chairperson Doi, and Komeito Chairman OKubo.

Olgin Comments on USSR-Japan Relations

OW2704203088 Moscow in Japanese to Japan 1000 GMT 19 Apr 88

[Olgin commentary]

[Text] Some positive signs were seen in Soviet-Japanese relations at the end of last year and early this year. During the period, the Soviet-Japanese Intergovernmental Science and Technology Cooperation Committee ended its meeting and the Soviet-Japanese fishery negotiations came to a close, achieving mutually beneficial results. A cultural accord between the Soviet Union and Japan also took effect. In Tokyo, the 11th meeting of the USSR-Japan Business Cooperation Committee was held in a constructive atmosphere. In addition, Igirma-Tairiku, the first Soviet-Japanese joint lumbering venture, has started operation. Thus, the climate of Soviet-Japanese relations has improved to some degree.

The public opinion and mass media in Japan have been increasing their interest in the Soviet Union. The Japanese people hold a little more positive views on the Soviet Union than in the past years, as evidenced in an opinion poll conducted jointly by TASS and KYODO in both countries. Despite these positive factors, our impression is that no major development has been made in Soviet-Japanese relations. We cannot say that large potentials embedded in various fields of Soviet-Japanese relations have been fully tapped. What is the reason for this? Recently, Japanese official sources have often implied that the Soviet passive and inflexible stance is responsible for this, saying that despite its perestroyka, the Soviet Union has not changed its stance toward Japan at all. In fact, no significant development has been made in Soviet-Japanese relations. This is even more conspicuous when compared with active political dialogue at various levels between the Soviet Union and other Western countries. However, this cannot be ascribed to a lack of flexibility on the part of the Soviet Union. On the contrary, this can be attributed to Japan's hesitation and delay in responding to Soviet calls for cooperation and dialogue concerning various issues. The Soviet Union has recently made various proposals for expanding the political dialogue and promoting cooperation regarding measures against AIDS and drugs. However, there has been no response to these Soviet proposals for cooperation, as seen on many occasions in the past. Of course, both nations are free to adopt policies considered to ensure their interests to the maximum extent. Perhaps Japanese leaders might be thinking that it is in their interest to develop Soviet-Japanese relations only to a moderate extent. However, a nation should not arbitrarily distort the truth or blame others for its faults. The criticism that the Soviet Union lacks flexibility came at a time when the Japanese Government's stance on major international issues became an object of public

concern in Japan. Worries over why the Japanese Government attempts to turn its back on favorable signs in international relations are growing not only in Japan but also in foreign countries. We thought that the Soviet-U.S. treaty on abolition of the INF—Intermediate-range Nuclear Force—would provide a basis for a favorable turn, and therefore Japan would naturally work to further enlarge gains from results of this treaty. To our regret, Japan has opted to take a wait-and-see stance rather than carry out positive activities for peace and security. This stance is a characteristic feature of Japan's current policy toward the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union is ready to develop its relations with Japan in various fields. The Soviet Union desires that bilateral relations reach a level commensurate with the roles of the two countries in the world. This is an attainable goal if the two countries cling to the basic interests of their peoples and display good faith and sound judgment.

Mikhaylov Scores Japan-U.S. Security Treaty

OW2804102688 Moscow in Japanese to Japan 1000 GMT 27 Apr 88

[Mikhaylov commentary]

[Text] The Japan-U.S. security treaty, put into effect on 28 April 1960, marks its 28th anniversary tomorrow. Our commentator Mikhaylov:

The Japan-U.S. security treaty marks its 28th anniversary as the two countries are conspicuously strengthening their military integration. Substantive advances in their military exchanges are clearly reflected in a series of documents signed during the visit to Washington by the director general of the Japanese Defense Agency in January. First of all, they include an agreement on joint development of sophiscated nonnuclear weapons—weapons which the Pentagon thinks can replace long- and short-range missiles to be eliminated under the USSR-U.S. INF Treaty. In that connection, the Pentagon pins high hopes on Japanese technology.

The two countries also reached an accord on the joint development of the next-generation support fighter for the Air Self-Defense Force [SDF], and on Japan's prepositioned storage in the country of U.S. heavy weapons. Envisaged under these agreements is the use of private facilities, a factor which Japanese observers say will prompt the government to step up its effort for the passage of the so-called emergency legislation.

In the area of mobilization exercises, too, Japan-U.S. integral activities intensified markedly; a total of 27 joint exercises involving Army, Navy and/or Air Force personnel were conducted in 1987 alone. It is the cooperation in naval activities that demonstrates most vividly the aggressive nature of the Japan-U.S. military alliance. A Japan-U.S. seminar on such cooperation was held in Oiso City this year, at which a U.S. Navy representative asked for Japan's assurances of sealane defense for regions from Kamchatka to the Philippines and said that the vast area, including the Southwest Pacific and the Indian Ocean, should be placed under joint operations of Japanese and U.S. fleets. Meanwhile, Japanese participants in the seminar stressed the need for a buildup of the Maritime SDF. The buildup includes, for instance, such equipment as aircraft carriers and ship-to-ship missiles. The construction of a submarine tracking center is also envisaged.

These military plans reflect the intent of the Japanese ruling circles to arm the SDF with offensive weapons, thereby turning Japan into a military giant. Needless to say, the offensive nature of Japan's armament is growing stronger and the sphere of action in the Japan-U.S. military alliance is constantly expanding.

This situation increases pressures on the Japanese economy. The military budget for the current fiscal year is 3 trillion 700 billion yen, which again exceeds the 1 percent-level of the GNP. As is known, such increases in the military spending would be unnecessary if it were not for the pressures from the U.S. side.

The strengthening of the Japan-U.S. military alliance is taking place at a time various possibilities of easing international tension are emerging. In this respect, opposition representatives made clear-cut statements in the current session of the Japanese Diet. In doing so, they noted the USSR-U.S. INF Treaty that had been signed. The Afghan peace treaty was also signed in Geneva recently. The easing of military tension in the Far East is supposed to strengthen these positive trends; however, the Japan-U.S. security treaty is pushing the Japanese Government in just the opposite direction. The treaty is helping the East-West military confrontation not only maintain its present level but also even increase it. In that sense, one can say that the Japan-U.S. security treaty has not changed its substance at all in the past 28 years.

Southeast Asia & Pacific

Razumovskiy Delegation Completes Vietnam Visit

Tours Rubber Plantation

LD282305 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1430 GMT 28 Apr 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] Today the CPSU delegation led by Comrade Razumovskiy continued to acquaint itself with the life of the southern provinces of Vietnam.

The CPSU delegation visited the province of Dong Nai and the (Ghe Vey) plantation, where the trees provide the raw material for rubber production. The Soviet visitors were interested in the working and living conditions of the workers. This province, like some others, is

taking part in implementing the special Soviet-Vietnamese program for developing (Ghe Vey) and the production of natural rubber. The program benefits both sides and is a promising one. However, its implementation is being held back by a lack of interdepartmental coordination on the Soviet side and insufficient financing on the Vietnamese side.

The delegation also visited the town of Vung Tau. For a long time the life of this town has been linked to the sea. It is also famous as a major tourist center. At its party committee, the CPSU delegation was told about the life and concerns of the town. The main attention now is being paid to the development of the petroleum and gas industry. Since 1981, Vietsovpetro, the joint Soviet-Vietnamese enterprise engaged in prospecting for and extracting oil and gas on the continental shelf, has been operating here. The CPSU delegation was familiarized in detail with the main achievements and plans of the joint enterprise.

Leaves Ho Chi Minh City 29 Apr

LD290848 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0546 GMT 29 Apr 88

[Text] Ho Chi Minh City, 29 Apr (TASS)—A CPSU delegation, headed by Georgiy Razumovskiy, candidate member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee and a CPSU Central Committee secretary, and which has been in Vietnam at the invitation of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Vietnam, left Ho Chi Minh City today for home. It was escorted at the Tan Son Nhat International Airport by Ho Chi Minh City leaders and public representatives. The escort party included D.I. Kachin, USSR ambassador to the Socialist Republic of Vietnam.

Near East & South Asia

Najibullah Addresses News Conference in Kabul

LD282215 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1828 GMT 28 Apr 88

[Text] Kabul, 28 Apr (TASS)—Najibullah, president of the Republic of Afghanistan, held a press conference today for foreign journalists in connection with the celebration of the 10th anniversary of the April Revolution.

The path that has been traveled, Najibullah said, has been difficult. We have had successes, but we have also had failures which we do not hide. The history of the revolution is our history. We do not intend to embellish it, but neither are we going to remain silent about our achievements.

Basing ourselves on the experience of the revolution and listening to the voice of the people, we have reached what we see as the optimal form of state organization. This is a presidential republic, which combines the principles of centralization and the traditional forms of people's, Jirgah [assembly] democracy.

The recently held elections to the National Assembly showed that the people support the new political system.

The first session of the National Assembly will be convoked by a presidential decree in mid-May, Najibullah stated. It will establish the powers of the Assembly's members, elect its leading bodies, comprising a chairman, deputy chairman, and secretaries of each chamber, form standing commissions, adopt regulations about the National Assembly, and appoint a prime minister who will present the composition of the government to the Council of Representatives for a vote of confidence.

The president also noted that over 200,000 people who inhabit the territory controlled by the opposition took part in the voting.

Our achievements in the socioeconomic sphere are obvious. The Soviet Union and the countries of the socialist community are rendering all-round, effective assistance to Afghanistan in economic development. Direct economic links between towns and various regions of Afghanistan and the USSR have been successfully developing recently.

All these years we have been engaged in strengthening our Armed Forces. Their strength, morale, weaponry, and military equipment have grown considerably. New arms of the service have been created. They are a reliable shield of national reconciliation. They are a guarantee of Afghanistan's freedom and independence now, and particularly after the departure of the limited contingent of Soviet troops.

Our current priorities, Najibullah continued, are to create the right conditions for the withdrawal of the limited contingent of Soviet troops, the return of the refugees and the provision of guarantees for the implementation of the political settlement to the Afghan problem. The mechanism of monitoring the fulfillment of the Geneva agreements will begin to operate in the near future. Many new and interesting things await us. We have put forward specific proposals. We hope that, with the aid of the United Nations and other international organizations, the move toward peace on Afghan soil will be an effective one, Najibullah stressed.

Replying to a question about Soviet military advisers, the President said: As is known, cooperation between Afghanistan and the USSR in the military sphere began 23 years before the April Revolution. It has always played an important role in strengthening the defense capability of our state. We have no intention of renouncing the USSR's help in this sphere, at least as long as the situation on the borders of our homeland obliges us to show concern for the interests of our security. At present, the defense ministries of the Republic of Afghanistan

and the USSR are deciding on the precise number of advisers which can be maintained in the future, too. I know that this will be a minimum number in the top echelon and several dozen [desyatki] Soviet instructors in our military training establishments.

In accordance with the bilateral agreement between the Republic of Afghanistan and the Islamic Republic of Pakistan, Najibullah continued, Islamabad should eliminate all the material foundations of interference in the affairs of Afghanistan on the territory of Pakistan by 15 May, the date of ratification of the agreement. That is, the Pakistani authorities must eliminate the bases and centers for training the Afghan opposition on the territory of Pakistan, must not arm, must not maintain on their territory terrorist and subversive elements or any political or ethnic groupings to carry out terrorist and subversive actions against the Republic of Afghanistan, and must refrain from and not permit any action which could be assessed as interference in the internal affairs of Afghanistan.

Of course, we would like the entire opposition, including all the leaders of the "Seven" without exception, to embark on a course of national reconciliation, Najibullah continued.

Both the authorities in our country and I personally as president are willing to take part in talks with the leaders of the opposition at any time and in any place. We have repeatedly declared this and we declare it now.

There is one condition here—attempts to resolve political questions associated with the fate of Afghanistan by military means must be ended. There must above all be a response to our cease-fire proposal, negotiations must be entered into with us on all disputed matters, and there must be agreement on the composition and political platform of the coalition government.

Regrettably, not one of the organizations of the "Seven" has yet given a realistic response to our proposals, which are prompted by a concern for national interests. We have already reached agreement with certain anti-government groupings. A whole series of well-known leaders of armed groups have been appointed to important state posts or elected to parliament.

The president stressed that every politician of prerevolutionary and present-day Afghanistan, if he is a true patriot, not only can, but must, for the sake of the highest interests of the homeland, play his part in ensuring national reconciliation. Our search for peace in Afghanistan is broad in scale, and the former king does not remain outside this activity, he continued.

As far as the creation of a demilitarized zone along the borders is concerned, these are our ideas and proposals, and we believe they will be noted by our neighbors, Najibullah said. At the same time, the president pointed out, the creation of demilitarized regions in no way means that the Armed Forces of the Afghan Republic are unable to maintain control over these regions. The ideas of creating such regions is to assist the return of the Afghan refugees to their homeland. If the "Seven" reject the proposals for a cease-fire, reconciliation, and the creation of a coalition government, the Armed Forces are capable of reliably maintaining their former positions.

Replying to a question as to what will be the situation on the border with Iran, Najibullah said that, notwithstanding the expectations of the Government and the people of the Afghan Republic, the peace-loving peoples of the world and the United Nations, Iran is still not a participant in the Geneva peace process. But we hope that this position of Tehran's is not a final one. We also hope that Iran's non-participation in this process does not mean that the center of interference in the Afghan Republic's affairs has switched from Pakistan to Iran

The PRC has welcomed the signing of the Geneva agreements and the success of the political process toward a settlement to the situation around Afghanistan. We consider this gesture by our eastern neighbor to be a positive and constructive step. We will welcome a normalization in Afghan-Chinese relations, the President noted.

Najibullah spoke highly of the role of D. Cordovez, the UN secretary general's personal representative, and stressed that Afghanistan intends, as before, to cooperate with the United Nations in a serious and constructive manner.

Afghan Leaders Reply to USSR Congratulations

LD282033 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1800 GMT 28 Apr 88

[Text] President Najibullah of the Republic of Afghanistan, general secretary of the PDPA Central Committee, and Keshtmand, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Republic of Afghanistan, have sent a message to Comrades Gorbachev, Gromyko, and Ryzhkov in which they expressed gratitude for the congratulations sent on the occasion of the national holiday of the Afghan people—the 10th anniversary of the April National Democratic Revolution in Afghanistan.

The relations of good-neighborliness between the Afghan and Soviet peoples, which have developed through history, acquired depth and scope during the years of the revolution, the telegram says. The Soviet Union's support for our initiatives and proposals in the international arena have had a strong impact on the process of a political settlement of the situation around Afghanistan. Afghan-Soviet cooperation will continue in the future to serve as an example of friendly, equal, and mutually advantageous relations between peoples, the message points out.

Kabul Bomb Reportedly Supplied From Pakistan

LD282200 Moscow World Service in English 2010 GMT 28 Apr 88

[Text] The ASSOCIATED PRESS has quoted an American official who has preferred not to be identified as saying the United States has been airlifting air supplies to Afghan anti-government rebels in Pakistan. The official in Islamabad said that was being done to compensate for the losses caused by the explosion at an ammunition depot earlier this month. The Soviet news agency TASS political observer Askold Biryukov comments:

This report is alarming for two reasons. First, it is a confirmation that the United States urgently delivered arms and ammunition to Afghan anti-government groups on the eve of the signing of the political settlement accords on Afghanistan in Geneva. Second, if the quoted official is right, these deliveries continued even after the Geneva agreements had been signed. Askold Biryukov gives a reminder that the Geneva accords on Afghanistan contain certain measures to wipe out the source of the undeclared war in Pakistan. The agreement prohibits any cooperation with or support, either direct of indirect, for rebel of separatist activity by the other party to the agreement on any pretext.

Compliance with the Geneva agreement is the most important condition of restoring peace to the devastated land of Afghanistan. Urgent American arms shipments are incompatible with this goal. The American weapons end up in the hands of those irreconcilable members of the Afghan opposition who are reluctant to recognize the Geneva accords, who have rejected national reconciliation, and who keep fighting. Wednesday's terrorist attack in the center of Kabul when a truck loaded with explosives blew up killing innocent people shows what American support for the rebels leads to.

The Afghan authorities investigating the attack have found out that the truck carrying 150 kg of explosives arrived from Pakistan, the recipient of urgent American supplies.

Mining of Gulf Waters, U.S. Actions Condemned

LD281647 Moscow World Service in English 1110 GMT 28 Apr 88

[Commentary by Yuriy Solton]

[Text] Maybe it would be sacreligious to say, but news coming from the Persian Gulf has lately become somewhat routine. We've gradually stopped reacting to reports about the shelling of defenseless cities, attacks on merchant shipping, military clashes, and even the use of chemical weapons as something unprecedented. But this is most unnatural. Standing behind every line of information of this kind are human lives, unreasonably damaged material values, and the malicious spectre of an all-out war. Is there any way out of this situation? The outcome is shown in the United Nations Security Council resolution passed last July. The resolution calls on Iraq and Iran to stop the war and on the coastal states to refrain from activities that would lead to aggravation of the situation in the region. The United States was among those who voted for that resolution. But what it does in the Persian Gulf today agrees in no way either with the letter or spirit of that important document. The United States behaves there like in Harlem, a black ghetto in New York where policemen pacify the residents with the chief argument—a gun or a club.

Thirty American warships have been amassed in the Persian Gulf area; 13 military vessels more including the "Forrestal" aircraft carrier were sent to the Gulf from the American port of Jacksonville on 24 April. And now preparations are underway to send there a convoy of patrol boats. It has also been reported that during the meeting of NATO defense ministers in Brussels, the American delegation persuaded some of America's allies to give the United States bigger military support in the Gulf area.

There can be no justification for such acts as the mining of international shipping lanes, or attacks on tankers of other countries. Such acts are undoubtedly incompatible with norms of international law. Nor is there any justification for actions by the United States seeking to establish its own order in the Persian Gulf with the use of force and threatening with the use and even using weapons already. Isn't it time for the United States to stop whipping up tension in the Gulf area? Isn't it time to start seeking solutions not by military but by peaceful means? The accords on normalizing the situation around Afghanistan signed in Geneva recently proved that the settlement of most complicated regional issues can be achieved provided there is good will.

Al-Bid Addresses Yemen Socialist Party Plenum

LD281740 Moscow TASS in English 1543 GMT 28 Apr 88

[Text] Aden April 28 TASS—The scheduled 12th Plenum of the Central Committee of the Yemen Socialist Party has opened here. On its agenda is a broad range of questions including in connection with the drawing up of recommendations for work with the cadres, the role of the leaders of the party organizations and social structure of the party.

Addressing the opening session, 'Ali Salim al-Bid, general secretary of the Yemen Socialist Party Central Committee, pointed to the special importance of that plenary meeting in connection with the fact that it is being held on the eve of the 10th anniversary of the founding of the Yemen Socialist Party and the 25th anniversary of the October 14 revolution. The preparations for the celebration of these anniversaries and the report-and-election campaign being held at party organizations in that period demonstrate the party's militant spirit, its fidelity to the revolutionary traditions.

Touching upon the objective of selection and placing of personnel, 'A.S. al-Bid stressed the need for considering the class and ideological factors in that work. He called for special concern with representatives of the working people in the party, especially industrial workers and women, and recommended that they be more actively promoted to important posts in the party and the government.

'A.S. al-Bid pointed to the need to continue efforts aimed at a further all-round development and normalisation of relations between the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen and the Yemen Arab Republic, the continuing exchanges of visits at various levels. In that connection he pointed out the special significance of the recent meeting in Ta'izz between him and President 'Ali 'Abdallah Salih of the Yemen Arab Republic.

Resumption of Syrian-PLO Relations Hailed
PM281519 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 28 Apr 88 Second Edition p 1

[Own correspondent report under the rubric "Correspondent Comments": Dialogue Essential"]

[Text] Damascus, 27 Apr—Extensive Syrian-Palestinian contacts have already taken place and are continuing in Damascus. Syrian President H. al-Asad's meeting with Y. 'Arafat, chairman of the PLO Executive Committee, was the central event. Members of the Central Committee of Fatah, which is the largest section in the PLO, took part. Y. 'Arafat is leading the delegation.

The very fact that the meeting has taken place is significant, since ties between Syria and Fatah have been broken off in recent years. The break occurred in 1983 after a split in the Fatah ranks.

The actual renewal of dialogue and the overcoming of past problems is a positive phenomenon. But this is not the only measure of the significance of the Damascus talks.

Both Syria and the PLO are leading, key figures in a Near East settlement. Among the Arab states, it is Syria at the present stage which has essentially borne the main burden in countering Israeli aggression. The rising in the Arab territories occupied by Israel has shown the potential that lies in the PLO-led Palestinian opposition movement. Naturally, the success of the entire cause depends largely on pooling the efforts and uniting the actions of these two vanguards of the anti-imperialist, national liberation movement in the Near East.

Both the Palestinian and Syrian sides acknowledge a broad base of cooperation. It lies in the community of interests and aims of the two peoples confronting Israeli aggression and the intrigues of imperialism, in reaching a just settlement, and in asserting the right to a free and independent existence and development.

The struggle to free the territories occupied by Israel—the Syrian Golan Heights and the Palestinian lands; the need to step up support for the Palestinian rising and frustrate the "Shultz plan"—that second Camp David variant; progress toward convening a fully empowered international conference on a Near East settlement; and the strengthening of friendship and cooperation with the USSR and other socialist countries—this constitutes by no means a complete list of the most important problems on which there is unity of views, N. Hawatimah, general secretary of the DFLP, stated to your correspondent. The Syrian-Palestinian dialogue has demonstrated the parties' desire to normalize relations. The PLO took the initiative by approaching Damascus, and Damascus was quick to respond to it.

Speaking at a news conference, PFLP leader George Habash characterized the changes in Syrian-Palestinian relations as qualitative. The meeting which took place, he said, will assist in crystalizing the general position. The mutual desire to continue open, direct dialogue in a constructive spirit is decisive.

George Habash noted the positive role played by the Soviet Union's and by Y. 'Arafat's visit to Moscow in the task of improving Syrian-Palestinian relations. May Syrian-Palestinian reconciliation and its effect on elaborating a pan-Arab position be the prelude to further strengthen relations with the Soviet Union and with all forces for peace, progress, and socialism throughout the world, he stated.

The meeting in Damascus, I was told by Syrian information circles, demonstrates Syria's true adherence to the pan-Arab cause. Syria was critical of certain Arab and Palestinian circles for breaking with the principled line and sliding down the road to separate deals which damage the interests of the Palestinian and other Arab peoples. Naturally, the process of rapprochement and of the strengthening of the common potential develops to the extent that they abandon this course and return to principled positions.

Syria, it is noted here, firmly supports the Palestinian people's right to self-determination and the creation of their own state, and is struggling to establish a lasting and just peace in the region. In Damascus' view, an authoritative [polnopravnaya] and effective international conference could be an instrument for formulating such a peace.

The meeting in Damascus and the Syrian-Palestinian dialogue have many ill-wishers and opponents. Judging by offerings from Western news agencies, it is no accident that divergences in the sides' positions are being exaggerated. But putting emphasis on them would mean putting the cart before the horse, and piling unnecessary obstacles in the path of rapprochement. And these obstacles can be immediately left behind as soon as progress begins toward a common goal, on the path of united action.

West Europe

Laptev, Delegation Meet Holkeri in Finland

LD282323 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1607 GMT 28 Apr 88

[Excerpt] Helsinki, 28 Apr (TASS)—Today Harri Holkeri, Finnish prime minister, received the delegation of the foreign affairs commissions of the Chambers of the USSR Supreme Soviet headed by Ivan Laptev, secretary of the USSR Parliamentary Group, which is on a visit here.

There was discussion of some questions of the relations between the USSR and Finland and also of international problems of mutual interest—in particular, the situation in northern regions of the planet.

The Soviet parliamentarians today also visited the Institute of Cultural Ties between Finland and the USSR and were acquainted with its activity. [passage omitted]

Swedish 'Tetra Pak' Group Visits Moscow

Meets With Murakhovskiy

LD231022 Moscow TASS in English 0941 GMT 23 Apr 88

[Text] Moscow April 23 TASS—Vsevolod Murakhovskiy, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, chairman of the State Agro-Industrial Committee of the USSR, received on April 22 a delegation of the Swedish concern Tetra Pak led by H. Rausing.

A substantive exchange of views was held on questions of expanding and deepening businesslike cooperation in a variety of areas of agriculture and related industries. The sides put special emphasis on setting up joint business ventures.

The meeting was held in an amiable atmosphere and was of a constructive nature.

Anders Thunborg, ambassador of Sweden to the USSR, took part in the talk.

Received by Ryzhkov

LD261730 Moscow TASS in English 1325 GMT 26 Apr 88

[Text] Moscow April 26 TASS—Soviet head of government Nikolay Ryzhkov today received here Hans Rausing, head of the Swedish concern Tetra Pak who has arrived in this country for talks on cooperation in the manufacture of equipment and materials for the food industry.

During the meeting in the Kremlin they examined issues connected with plans for setting up a number of Soviet-Swedish enterprises to build high-efficiency flowlines to pack dairy products, process fruits and vegetables, and make the necessary materials.

It was pointed out that the modernization drive under way in the processing industries of the agribusiness sector in the Soviet Union can serve the basis for broad and mutually beneficial cooperation between Soviet enterprises and organizations and Tetra Pak which is among the leaders in its field.

Taking part in the meeting were also Lev Ryabev, minister of medium machine building of the USSR, Mikhail Busygin, minister of the lumbering industry of the USSR, Vadim Ignatov, deputy chairman of the USSR State Agri-Industrial Committee, and Anders Ingemar Thunborg, Swedish ambassador to the USSR.

Ryzhkov Receives Heads of Swedish Firm 'IKEA'

LD230200 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 22 Apr 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] Today Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov received Ingvar Kampradd, chairman of the board of the Swedish firm IKEA, and (Anders Meberg), president of the board, who arrived in Moscow for talks on further developing cooperation in the area of furniture production and trade. A detailed exchange of views took place on the possibilities for expanding business links between IKEA and Soviet organizations with the purpose of developing the accords attained during Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov's visit last January. Support was expressed for the current search for new, promising forms of trade and economic cooperation between the USSR and Sweden, specifically concerning plans for setting up joint enterprises.

Gromyko Receives Swiss Interior Minister

LD281704 Moscow TASS in English 1638 GMT 28 Apr 88

[Text] Moscow April 28 TASS—Andrey Gromyko, president of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, received in the Kremlin today Flavio Cotti, member of the Federal Council (government) and head of the Federal Department (minister) of the Interior of Switzerland.

The Swiss official is in the USSR at the invitation of the Soviet minister of culture in connection with the opening of an exhibition of paintings by Ferdinand Hodler in Moscow.

They discussed the present state of Soviet-Swiss relations, including bilateral relations in the field of culture.

Cotti described the forthcoming exhibition of works by Soviet artists in Bern, the planned show of young Moscow painters in Basel and a major festival of Soviet arts in Zurich.

Last year, the festival of France was the biggest cultural event in Switzerland. This year it is going to be the festival of the Soviet Union.

The Soviet side observed, however, that the potential of developing bilateral relations had not been used in full. Gromyko pointed out that new possibilities had emerged thanks to perestroyka, or restructuring, for elevating Soviet-Swiss ties to a qualitatively higher level.

In considering practical issues of cooperation between the USSR and Switzerland, the sides expressed readiness to conduct an active search for new forms and ways of perfecting and broadening ties in economy, culture, science and technology.

European Stability Discussed With FRG Group

LD281353 Moscow TASS in English 1321 GMT 28 Apr 88

[Text] Moscow April 28 TASS—Representatives of the Soviet and West German public opened a meeting here today to discuss ways to enhance stability in Europe.

Sponsored by the Soviet Committee for European Security and Cooperation and the West German Friedrich Ebert Foundation, the forum is being attended by a representative delegation from the Federal Republic of Germany.

Led by Egon Bahr, a member of the Presidium of the Social Democratic Party of Germany, it includes members of the Bundestag (parliament), scientists and prominent public-affairs writers.

The participants in the meeting were greeted by Lev Tolkunov, chairman of the Soviet Committee for European Security and Cooperation. He stressed the significance of continuing dialogue, noting that despite persisting ideological differences, "we can find a common language on many matters of principle".

The debates were opened by Vadim Zagladin, a member of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee and first deputy head of its International Department.

He described stability in Europe as the continuous development of the CSCE process aimed at furthering cooperation and ensuring security for every European nation and, in the final analysis, for the whole world.

This cannot be achieved without recognizing the coexistence of states with different social systems, Zagladin said.

"There, of course, have been, are and will be changes in both East and West. And it is unproductive to guess when this or that country in the West chooses the socialist path of development or when this or that country in the East renounces socialism.

"Changes in the East attest to the fact that peoples in this region are committed to socialism, but want to upgrade it," Zagladin continued.

He then defined the basic principles of stability in Europe and analyzed related external and internal factors, emphasizing the concept for a "common European home" as the common denominator of stability.

"We invite all states and all political and public forces to take an active part in designing this home," Zagladin said.

The meeting was then addressed by West German MP Karsten Voigt. He paid much attention to the problems of democratizing dialogue and dynamizing political relations.

"All European states are called upon to answer two questions, namely whether they want the construction of a 'common European home' and how they see it," Bahr said in a TASS interview.

"When I speak of states, I mean not only governments, but the public as well. I think it must be clear that every home needs a strong foundation and that this foundation in our case is provided by security.

"In other words, security can be used as the basis for erecting the walls of the 'common European home'. And this means that there must be no more wars in Europe," Bahr said.

Falin Interviewed on Meeting

LD281750 Moscow TASS in English 1605 GMT 28 Apr 88

[Text] Moscow April 28 TASS—Today's meeting in Moscow of public figures from the USSR and the FRG to discuss "stability in Europe" is not only an indication of the qualitatively new processes now at work in the world and in Europe, Valentin Falin, chairman of the board of NOVOSTI press agency taking part in the meeting, said in an interview with the TASS correspondent. It attests to a great concern of the broadest segments of public and the peoples to make a general conflict impossible and to urge governments to take a fuller account of the basic interests of the peoples and of the interests of civilisation. Today's exchange of opinions can be said to pursue this goal.

From 1917 the problem of war and peace has ceased to be a matter only for the governments, he went on to say. For already many decades the peoples are actively trying to influence the discussion of ways to solve the problem.

But it is precisely today that this possibility may be actually becoming a reality. Today we are witness to the peoples directly influencing the adoption of political decisions, and to the voice of the peoples and their interests and their most cherished aspirations being reflected directly or indirectly in the decisions adopted by the leaders of states. If this is the sense one reads into the notion of "people's diplomacy", then we can only welcome this. The fact is—and we have seen this on many occasions—that "popular participation" has been used to disguise demagogy, mere rhetoric, half-hearted initiatives, and attempts to cosy up to the people and to mislead it with empty promises in the name of goals often not quite clear to the people.

I think that the new thinking which the Soviet Union has proposed for itself in the first place and for the world at large, gives all of us and all mankind a new chance. This chance should not be missed. To miss it today would be a crime before both the present and future generations. For the question today is not to convince or convert somebody. At issue is something much more important, namely the creation of conditions in order that the present chapter in the history of the civilisation is not the last one. And this depends on us. The future will be what we are making it today, Valentin Falin said. It is we who are shaping the future and nobody will do that for us.

Antonov Receives FRG Businessman in Moscow
LD262232 Moscow TASS in English 2154 GMT 26 Apr 88

[Text] Moscow February 18 TASS—Today Aleksey Antonov, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the Soviet part of the Soviet-West German Commission on Economic, Scientific and Technical Cooperation, received here Heinz Ruhnau, board chairman of the West German Joint Stock Society Lufthansa at his request.

During the talk, the sides discussed some questions of cooperation of mutual interest.

Voss Meets With FRG Bundestag Deputy
PM281211 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 28 Apr 88 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report under general heading: "Official Reports"]

[Text] On 26 April, a talk took place between A.E. Voss, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet's Soviet of Nationalities, and FRG Bundestag Deputy H. Hamm-Bruecher.

Smirnov-Led Group Leaves for FRG Festivities
LD271615 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1400 GMT 27 Apr 88

[Text] A CPSU delegation headed by Comrade Smirnov today set off from Moscow for the FRG at the invitation of the board of the German Communist Party. It is to take part in May Day events of the West German Communists.

Supreme Soviet Group Meets Italy's Spadolini
LD271225 Moscow TASS in English 1207 GMT 27 Apr 88

[Text] Rome April 27 TASS—A delegation of the USSR Supreme Soviet travelling from Malta to the Soviet Union made a stopover in Rome where it was received by Giovanni Spadolini, president of the Italian Senate. The Soviet delegation was headed by Tengiz Menteshashvili, secretary of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

During the conversation Spandolini emphasized that Italian political circles attached great importance to Soviet-Italian relations which had made a major headway in recent years. He spoke highly of the political course pursued by the Soviet Government.

"I am glad that our conversation is taking place at a time when a turn for the better is witnessed in the international situation. Italy is striving to make its own specific contribution to this process," Spadolini said.

The delegation of the USSR Supreme Soviet also met with Flaminio Piccoli, head of the Foreign Affairs Commission of the Chamber of Deputies, and had a friendly talk with officials at the Italy-USSR Friendship Society.

During meetings and conversations, the Soviet MPs informed the Italian side of the progress of the perestroyka drive and the latest Soviet foreign policy initiatives. They called its attention to the importance of further developing and deepening inter-parliamentary contacts.

Delegation Returns Home
LD272106 Moscow Tass in English 1641 GMT 27 Apr 88

[Text] Moscow April 27 TASS—A delegation from the USSR Supreme Soviet returned here today after an official visit it paid to Malta at the invitation of its Parliament. It was led by Tengiz Menteshashvili, secretary of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

Vorontsov, Turkish Prime Minister Hold Talks
LD281744 Moscow TASS in English 1733 GMT 28 Apr 88

[Text] Ankara April 28 TASS—Yuliy Vorontsov, first deputy foreign minister of the USSR, who is currently visiting in Turkey, was received today by Turkish Prime Minister Turgut Ozal. They discussed the key problems of the state and development of Soviet-Turkish relations and urgent international issues.

On the same day Yuliy Vorontsov concluded talks with the first deputy foreign minister of Turkey, Nazhet Kandemir.

Andropov Meets With Cypriot Foreign Minister

LD281505 Moscow TASS in English 1433 GMT 28 Apr 88

[Text] Nicosia April 28 TASS—Soviet Ambassador-at-Large Igor Andropov has completed a visit to Cyprus where he met and talked with Foreign Minister Yeoryios Iacovou.

The Soviet envoy was received by President Yeoryios Vasiliou and president of the House of Representatives Vasos Lissaridhis.

They held an extensive exchange of views on developments in the Mediterranean in the light of the recent proposals relating to the region advanced by General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Mikhail Gorbachev in Belgrade.

Briefs

Cooperation in Air Services

Moscow April 25 TASS—The Soviet airline Aeroflot and West German Lufthanza on July 1 will resume flights from Frankfurt to Tokyo across Siberia, under a supplementary protocol to the November 1971 agreement on air services between the Soviet Union and West Germany. In keeping with the protocol, which was signed here today, Lufthanza will make three flights a week, including two runs without stopovers in Moscow, compared with Aeroflot's twice-weekly operations, with landings here. Plans for the future provide for each of the commercial carriers to increase the number of its weekly flights to four. They reached agreement also on terms for air services from Frankfurt to Beijing and on Lufthanza's involvement in equipping the trans-Siberian route with up-to-date radio navigational aids. [Excerpt] [*LD260031 Moscow TASS in English 1656 GMT 25 Apr 88*]

Latin America & Caribbean

U.S. 'Humanitarian' Contra Aid Arrives

LD281349 Moscow TASS in English 1222 GMT 28 Apr 88

[Text] Havana April 28 TASS—A U.S. transport plane, which ferried a batch of the U.S. so-called humanitarian aid to the Nicaraguan counter-revolutionaries, arrived in Honduras, reports from that country say. This cargo has moved by trucks and helicopters to contras camps in Honduran territory.

U.S. "humanitarian" aid is provided to the contras through the U.S. Agency for International Development which is known to have close ties with the Central Intelligence Agency. Washington's decision to use the agency as an intermediary in delivering aid to the contras runs counter to the agreement reached in Sapoa between the Nicaraguan Government and the contras, under which aid should be given through international neutral organisations.

Washington April 28 TASS—Joao Clemente Baena Soares, general secretary of the Organisation of American States (OAS), has strongly condemned Washington's decision to extend "humanitarian" aid to the Nicaraguan contras through the Agency for International Development. In a letter to U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz he said that the decision by the U.S. Administration was in conflict with the plan for a peaceful settlement in Central America signed by the presidents of Central American states in Guatemala and also with the agreements reached in Sapoa.

As a member of the commission to check and oversee the fullfilment of peace accords I cannot assume the responsibility to support the actions which contravene the objectives and tasks of the plan for a peaceful settlement in Central America, the letter says.

Nicaraguans Discuss 'Aid'

LD290810 Moscow TASS in English 0610 GMT 29 Apr 88

[Text] Managua April 29 TASS—The Nicaraguan Government at talks with contra leaders under way here has proposed that humanitarian aid to armed contra groups be provided immediately through the Red Cross Society as part of the agreement reached at Sapoa.

It provides for such aid as medicament, food and clothing supplies to the counter-revolutionary forces during the truce and in the following period of transition to a peaceful life.

Nicaraguan Deputy Foreign Minister Victor Tinoco has told a news conference here that the Nicaraguan Government's proposal aims to expedite the termination of the war, national reconciliation and democratization in this country.

The proposal stipulates that the flow of aid will be monitored by a special commission formed under the peace agreement.

But the contra leaders have not responded to the government's latest initiative to this day, a fact corroborating their intention to bypass the relevant clause in the agreement and receive aid from the International Development Agency closely connected with the C.I.A. and with the U.S. Administration.

During the first round of the negotiations the issue of humanitarian aid to the counter-revolutionaries was among the principal obstructions to reaching specific accords on a ceasefire in Nicaragua.

More on Parliamentary Group in Caribbean

Arrives in Jamaica

LD281156 Moscow TASS in English 1115 GMT 28 Apr 88

[Text] Kingston, April 28 TASS—A delegation of Soviet MPs currently on a goodwill tour of the Caribbean countries has arrived on an official visit in Jamaica. The delegation led by Aleksandr Mokanu, vice-president of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, was received by the country's governor-general Florizel Glasspole. A warm, friendly meeting was held.

Meets Prime Minister

LD291053 Mosocw TASS in English 1018 GMT 29 Apr 88

[Text] Kingston April 29 TASS—By TASS special correspondent Mikhail Fokin:

Jamaican Prime Minister Edward Seaga received a delegation of Soviet parliamentarians paying an official visit to the Caribbean country.

The delegation is led by Aleksandr Mokanu, vice president of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet (parliament) of the USSR.

Seaga said that the government and people of Jamaica welcomed the process of the establishment of new political mentality around the world.

No one wanted to live in the conditions of nuclear threat, East-West tensions and the arms race, which led to senseless spendings of huge financial, material and manpower resources, he said, adding that these resources should be used to develop world trade and increase the putput of goods.

The prime minister noted that there were favourable opportunities for developing cooperation between the Soviet Union and Jamaica in a number of fields, although it would take some time to realise these opportunities.

Seaga said that, despite differences on a number of ideological and political issues, existing between the two countries, he believed that the policy of glasnost and the process of perestroyka were laying good foundations for the development of bilateral relations, provided the sides respected each other's sovereignty and did not interfere in each other's affairs.

In this connection, the prime minister asked the parliamentarians to convey his gratitude to the Soviet leadership for the manifestation of a new and hopeful approach to the development of international relations.

The delegation also met with the leaders of the Jamaican Parliament.

During the meeting, the sides voiced the need to step up interparliamentary contacts and discuss more thoroughly problems of mutual interest.

Political & Social

Politburo Chides U.S. for Imposing Its Views

PM291229 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 29 Apr 88 Second Edition p 1

[Unattributed report under the headline "At the CPSU Central Committee Politburo"]

[Text] At a routine meeting on 28 April the CPSU Central Committee Politburo examined a number of organizational questions related to preparations for and the conducting of the forthcoming 19th All-Union CPSU Conference. The Politburo discussed the proposals worked out by the government to speed up the development of the electronics industry. It was noted during the meeting that implementing the course toward accelerating society's socioeconomic development and ensuring that the country attains advanced boundaries of science and technology requires urgent measures to be adopted toward further improving the electronics industry, the products of which have a decisive influence on the development of all branches of the national economy and on increasing its effectiveness. All the more so since with the expansion in recent years of the production of machines, equipment, and instruments with electronic control facilities, and computer equipment, a grave disproportion has emerged between the pace of growth of demand for electronic equipment items and the outlined prospects for the development of the electronics industry.

A set of measures aimed at the expansion and strengthening of the scientific and production base of the country's electronics industry has been approved. Over the years of the 12th and 13th 5-Year-Plans and in the period up to the year 2000, it is planned to increase the capacity of the electronics industry, to reconstruct operating enterprises, to build a number of new works in various regions of the country, and to create scientific centers for the problems of microelectronics. A comprehensive program of applied and fundamental research has been adopted, aimed at significantly raising the technical level of electronics. It is planned to involve organizations of the USSR Academy of Sciences and establishments of higher education in this work.

The CPSU Central Committee Politburo approved the general plans worked out by the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee and the Council of Ministers of the Lithuanian SSR, the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee and the Council of Ministers of the Estonian SSR with the participation of a broad aktiv for the national economic management of these republics. Proposals for improving management were discussed and received support at sessions of the republics' supreme soviets.

In accordance with the decisions of the CPSU Central Committee June 1987 Plenum and the USSR Law on State Enterprises (Associations), the new plans are aimed at radically restructuring management, at decreasing and reducing the cost of its apparatus, and the creation of organizational preconditions for the transition to predominantly economic methods of leadership in the speeded up socioeconomic development of these republics.

The Politburo discussed and approved the results of Comrade Gorbachev's conversation and Comrade Shevardnadze's talks with U.S. Secretary of State Shultz during his visit to Moscow 21-22 April. It was stressed that, on the basis of the exchange of views which took place on issues of security, on regional problems and bilateral relations, an understanding was reached regarding the conception of the next Soviet-U.S. summit meeting and the chief measures relating to its organization were agreed.

The Soviet leadership is ready to make the necessary efforts to ensure that the Moscow summit is marked by concrete and major results. Of course, this also requires a corresponding reciprocal striving from the U.S. side, and its readiness to take political realities into account, to take the interests of its partner into consideration, to weigh up carefully the degree of its responsibility to the world, and to give up attempts to foist its own views and values on others.

The Politburo approved the results of Comrade Ryzhkov's official friendly visit to the Hungarian People's Republic. The concrete discussion of the most important questions of Soviet-Hungarian relations which took place, and the accords that were reached open new possibilities for further strengthening fraternal ties and all-round cooperation between the Soviet Union and Hungary. It was noted that the communality of aims and closeness of direction of the processes of renewal in the USSR and Hungary are of crucial significance for enhancing the effectiveness of interaction between the two countries in the economic, scientific-technical, cultural, and other spheres and for making extensive use of modern integrational forms of cooperation. Confidence was expressed that all this, as well as the unified approach to the main international problems will serve to strengthen friendship between the Soviet and Hungarian peoples.

The session considered a report by Comrade Dobrynin on the results of a conference on the work of the journal PROBLEMS OF PEACE AND SOCIALISM which was held in Prague 12-15 April, and approved the activities of the CPSU delegation. Satisfaction was expressed that, as a result of a frank exchange of views in an atmosphere of glasnost and respect for each other's standpoint, the conference succeeded in collectively elaborating a constructive approach to the solving of so important a question as restructuring the work of the journal and the appropriate measures in this connection. This approach, in the opinion of the CPSU Central Committee, is in

accordance with the spirit of the times and the needs of the Communist, the entire working class, and the left-wing democratic movement.

The CPSU Central Committee Politburo also discussed certain other matters concerning state construction and the country's sociopolitical life.

Nikonov, Yakovlev Address Cadre Training Course
PM291111 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 28 Apr 88 First Edition p 2

[TASS report: "Cadre Training"]

[Text] Parallel courses for chairmen of republic, kray, and oblast committees for television and radio broadcasting and editors of party and sociopolitical journals and literary newspapers have ended at the CPSU Central Committee Academy of Social Sciences Institute for the Enhancement of the Qualifications of Leading Party, Soviet, and Ideological Cadres.

Key issues of the current stage of restructuring, the acceleration of the socioeconomic development of the Soviet society, its democratic renewal, and the radical reform of economic management were studied. Attention was focused on ways to improve the work of the mass media in enriching the spiritual potential of socialism and firmly establishing the ideology of renewal and to enhance the role of the media in the mobilization of the working people and labor collectives for achieving the main aims of restructuring and their work in the elucidation of the problems of Soviet people's international and patriotic education.

Participants were addressed by V.P. Nikonov and A.N. Yakovlev, members of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and secretaries of the Central Committee; A.I. Lukyanov, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee; Yu.A. Sklyarov, chief of the CPSU Central Committee Propaganda Department; G.K. Kryuchko and V.N. Sevruk, deputy chiefs of CPSU Central Committee departments; S.A. Shalayev, chairman of the AUCCTU; S.I. Manyakin, chairman of the USSR People's Control Committee; V.I. Mironenko, first secretary of the Komsomol Central Committee; A.N. Aksenov, V.A. Boldyrev, I.I. Gladkiy, B.I. Gostev, V.G. Zakharov, M.F. Nenashev, V.S. Pavlov, Ye.I. Chazov, V.A. Shamshin, and G.A. Yagodin, chairmen of USSR State Committees or heads of ministries or central departments; Army General A.D. Lizichev, chief of the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate; V.G. Afanasyev, chief editor of PRAVDA; N.B. Bikennin, chief editor of KOMMUNIST; R.G. Yanovskiy, rector of the CPSU Central Committee Academy of Social Sciences; L.I. Abalkin, director of the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Economics; and M.N. Alekseyev, A.A. Ananyev, G.Ya. Baklanov, S.A. Baruzdin, S.V. Vikulov, A.V. Dmitriyev, M.P. Gabdulin, S.P. Zalygin, V.I. Kasyanenko, and N.Ya. Klepach, chief editors of party, sociopolitical, or literary and arts journals .

D.I. Patiashvili, first secretary of the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee, and I.N. Zhikharev, first secretary of Staryy Oskol party gorkom, Belgorod Oblast, spoke about questions of party leadership of the mass media and the intensification of their role in promoting socioeconomic development. Students exchanged experience from the work of editorial collectives in conditions of restructuring and discussed the problems of enhancing the political and professional criteria of the materials published, the development of democratic principles in the work of the mass media, and preparations for the 19th all-union party conference.

During the courses, meetings were held with senior officials of the CPSU Central Committee, USSR ministries and departments, the Soviet Women's Committee, the Soviet Cultural Foundation, the V.I. Lenin Soviet Children's Fund, scientists, political observers, figures from the sphere of literature and art, and journalists.

Solovyev Visits Leningrad's 'Kirovskiy Zavod'
PM281415 Leningrad LENINGRADSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 22 Apr 88 p 1

[Ye. Vorobyev report: "Political Theme Day. Wholehearted Acceptance"]

[Excerpt] The political theme day held yesterday in the labor collectives of Leningrad and its oblast took place on the eve of a significant date—the 118th anniversary of the birth of Vladimir Ilich Lenin. On 23 April Soviet society will have been following the course of restructuring and democratization for exactly 3 years: This course was set by the decisions of the CPSU Central Committee April (1985) Plenum. These events have a profound internal connection. To paraphrase the words of the poet, you could say that Leninism and restructuring are like two peas in a pod.

Yu.F. Solovyev, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee and first secretary of Leningrad party obkom, visited the "Kirovskiy Zavod" Association. He inquired about the work of the collective under conditions of self-financing and self-capitalization and talked with workers, engineers, and party workers in workshops. Then he had a meeting with the association's party, trade union, and Komsomol aktiv and with Kirovskiy veterans. Yu.F. Solovyev talked in detail about the progress of restructuring in the Leningrad Oblast party organization and its first results in the economy and in social and cultural life. The city's enterprises which have switched to economic accountability [khozyaystvennyy raschet] are now producing more than 60 percent of the total output. Plan discipline has been substantially strengthened.

The role of labor collectives in resolving all problems has increased. The democratization of social relations is bearing fruit. But this process is still only in the initial stages of its development. Some people have taken fright at the glasnost and openness which accompany it. Anti-restructuring sentiments have also emerged. They were clearly and fairly assessed in the PRAVDA editorial: "Principles of Restructuring: Revolutionary Thinking and Action."

Of course, we still have many shortcomings and unresolved problems. And you can't overcome them all in a day. We must not leapfrog over phases of restructuring or artificially hurry it along. We must act consistently. The main thing is for the changes taking place in the country to be irreversible. Public opinion polls also indicate this. Not so long ago a poll was held on the initiative of the CPSU Obkom, and 92 percent of those polled voted in favor of restructuring.

One of the main areas of work for the oblast party organization is the development of the social sphere. The residue principle of financing this sphere has receded into the past. Funds earmarked for these purposes have now been increased 150 percent. The city is devoting special attention, apart from housing, to building schools, children's preschool establishments, hospitals, and clinics. It is planned to create a culture and sports center in every rayon of the city. The first eight such establishments will appear by 1992. They will also be set up in the oblast.

Pleasing changes in spiritual life are especially obvious. The people's sentiments are animated and militant. All negative elements are provoking sharp criticism.

More than 620,000 Communists are involved in the CPSU Oblast organization. Each one of them is obliged to influence his comrades by his personal example and do his utmost to promote glasnost, criticism, and innovation.

The meeting turned into a frank discussion of further paths of restructuring and the preparations for the 19th all-union party conference. Many questions were asked and many interesting ideas and proposals voiced. [passage omitted]

Ryzhkov Addresses Council of Ministers Session

LD251717 Moscow TASS in English 1656 GMT 25 Apr 88

[Text] Moscow April 25 TASS—The Council of Ministers of the USSR held a regular meeting today to review the fulfilment of the state plan for the country's economic and social development in the first quarter of 1988 and to examine the state of wholesale trade in the national economy and prospects for developing it in the light of decisions taken at the June 1987 plenum of the party's Central Committee.

Speakers noted certain positive shifts in the nation's social and economic development in the first three months of the year. But they devoted most attention to discussing how to mend things in areas which have become bottlenecks holding back general movement along the perestroyka path.

The bluntest emphasis in debates was on the problem of food supply in the country. The government spent much time analyzing drawbacks in the work of economic sectors and individual industries, paying particularly close attention to causes behind the unduly slow progress of mechanical engineering.

The government bound its standing bodies, the heads of ministries and agencies of the USSR and the councils of ministers of the constituent republics to adopt specific measures to remove the snags.

Describing the promotion of wholesale trade in producer goods as the top priority in overhauling the system of material and equipment supplies in the national economy, the government approved the state supply agency's proposals for unfolding such trade rapidly in 1989 and 1990.

Nikolay Ryzhkov, a member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, made a speech at the meeting.

Zaykov, Others Sign Architect's Obituary

PM281215 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 28 Apr 88 Morning Edition p 6

[Unattributed obituary of Viktor Semenovich Andreyev]

[Excerpts] Viktor Semenovich Andreyev, People's Architect of the USSR, USSR State Prize winner and honored construction worker of the RSFSR, has died. [passage omitted]

L.N. Zaykov, N.N. Slyunkov, A.G. Melnikov, Yu.P. Batalin, Ye.G. Rozanov, Yu.P. Platonov, B.S. Ugarov, M.V. Posokhin, I.G. Biryukov, L.V. Vavakin, A.G. Rochegov, A.V. Vasnetsov, E.G. Klimov, T.N. Khrennikov, Yu.B. Solovyev, V.G. Afanasyev, K.Yu. Lavrov, I.I. Loveyko, Ya.B. Belopolskiy, A.T. Polyanskiy, B.V. Lebedev.

Yeltsin Denies 'Text' of October Plenum Speech

DW291010 Cologne MOSCOW NEWS in German May 1988 p 20

[Mikhail Poltoranin article: "Visiting Boris Yeltsin"]

[Excerpts] I saw Boris Yeltsin once after he had been demoted from his post as first secretary of the Moscow City Party Committee and appointed minister. At that time I was a MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA editor and I had received several letters with the remark "to be

handed to Comrade Yeltsin." The letters dealt with the Moscow party committee November 1987 plenum, and I will explain later why they were addressed to the newspaper.

Boris Nikolayevich remained in the hospital until mid-January and as soon as he had recovered I asked him for an appointment. [passage omitted dealing with Yeltsin's health and past life]

I had to ask him a "ticklish" question. At that time copies of the speech were circulating in moscow, the speech he was said to have given at the CPSU Central Committee October Plenum. I was asking myself who had illegally xeroxed the text of a speech that was an internal party document and why? That was astonishing. Yeltsin was very much surprised and worried by my question. He had heard nothing before of "his speech," copies of which had been circulated. "It is probably a forgery," he said. "There is no text at all of my October plenum speech."

He regretted that I did not get hold of the text of "his speech." He wanted to clarify the matter completely. I had no choice but to promise him to do all I could to obtain the "speech." We agreed to meet again when he was feeling better. (At that time the doctors did not permit him to work for more than 4 hours a day). So we said good-bye to each other.

Shortly thereafter I succeeded in obtaining a copy of the "address." A man of about 35 with a sporty appearance and an unobtrusive face was selling it openly at a subway station. I did not call Yeltsin immediately. At the time I was very busy changing jobs. Later, however, I came across the same "speech" again, but this time it was published first in a French and then in an FRG newspaper. Now, I said to myself, you cannot postpone that meeting any longer. I called Yeltsin several times in his office, but nobody answered. Then I called his private number and his wife, with the typically Siberian name of Naya, told me that Boris Nikolayevich was in the hospital again because he had some heart trouble, but his condition was quite satisfactory. Yeltsin's mother, Klavdiya Nikolayevna, had just arrived from Sverdlovsk and wanted to visit her son. If I wanted to, I could go with her to the hospital. [passage omitted]

It turned out that Klavdiya Nikolayevna had not come to Moscow just like that: BBC had reported that Yeltsin was dying. Regardless of how her relatives tried to calm her down and keep her from going, nothing could hold her in Sverdlovsk. She was very much concerned about everything that had happened to her son. When she read in the newspaper the report on the Moscow City Committee plenum she felt restless. In order to learn something more she tried to get in touch with her oldest son's family. But everything was in vain. The Moscow telephone line was busy day and night. She went to the post office to send a telegram. However, a sign was put up there (as in all Sverdlosk post offices): "Any mail for B.N. Yeltsin will not be forwarded." (That is why people were sending letters to MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA asking the journalists to forward them to Yeltsin). There was probably not one copy of the USSR Constitution to be found in the big city of Sverdlovsk, a copy someone should have looked at before issuing such an order...but be that as it may, Klavdiya Vasilyevna had become accustomed in the past months to commuting between Moscow and Sverdlosk. Never before had she traveled so much by train and plane.

At the hospital Yeltsin came down from his room to the hall. He was waering light blue overalls.

Klavdiya Vasilievna looked at her son and said she felt better. She said she would not wait, that she would leave us alone. She embraced her son and left.

I asked Boris Yeltsin how he was feeling. He said he was gradually becoming as healthy as he was when he was in the Urals.

I handed him the copy of "his" speech I obtained in the subway, and translations of the Paris and Hamburg publications of the "speech." He read it for quite a long time. Then he sat down on a chair and said: "You remember that I told you that there is no text of my October plenum speech? I had written nothing down. I would like to know who is not too lazy to invent and circulate such falsifications! Why does he do that? To demonstrate that I was taking the floor out of personal dislike of this or that person?

"What did you talk about then?"

"The Central Committee decided not to publish the speeches given at the plenum. As a Central Committee member I am not permitted to break that rule. Besides, I do not want to talk about what I said half a year ago. Maybe I erred on some things. However, I spoke honestly and I said what I was feeling and what I considered the right thing. Somebody said correctly: Everybody must think independently so that later on everybody will not suddenly see the light simultaneously."

"Correct, the guarantees of democratization are most disputed," Yeltsin said. "Some people believe the standard is too high. others see the possibility of increasing it a few more degrees. Why is opinion on one and the same problem so different? I belong to those who are prepared to walk the rocky road without fear."

We went on to discuss various issues. Then Yeltsin had to go to the medical treatment room. He took his flowers, stood up, and went energetically to the door.

The picture on this page was taken somewhat later in Moscow when he had resumed his work.

Yakovlev Attends History, Literature Conference

PM281531 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 28 Apr 88 Second Edition p 3

[TASS report on 27 April first day of Moscow history and literature conference: "Restructuring: The Shape of Thoughts and Actions. Conference of Historians and Writers"]

[Text] Never before have questions pertaining to history and literature had such a topical, and it is possible to say, social significance as in our days of the revolutionary renewal of our society. Historians and writers are today turning to the main stages of our motherland's past in order to verify the path into the future. Uniting forces and coordinating positions on this path—this is the aim of a scientific conference organized by the USSR Academy of Sciences, the USSR Writers' Union, and the CPSU Central Committee Academy of Social Sciences which opened in Moscow 27 April.

The conference was opened by V.V. Karpov, first secretary of the USSR Writers' Union Board. The tasks of achieving a moral and spiritual regeneration of society and conscious and active participation by every citizen in the creative processes of life, he stressed, cannot be implemented without uniting all intellectual forces.

A report entitled "History, Literature, and Society" was delivered by P.N. Fedoseyev, vice president of the USSR Academy of Sciences. History has always been and remains a field of acute ideological struggle, he said. Therefore the truthful depiction of historical events and a Marxist analysis of our successes and mistakes represent an important ideological task for scientists and men of letters. This applies especially to revolutionary periods and, of course, to such a complex process as the restructuring and the revolutionary renewal of the socialist society.

The most important task of historians and men of letters, the scientist emphasized, is to compile a truthful history of Soviet society and its spiritual development and to put an end to the impersonal depiction of the historical process without mentioning the specific figures or dramatic consequences of this process.

A comprehensive and objective approach to elucidating the past and present, Academician P.N. Fedoseyev said further, is demanded not just by truth, but also by conscience. Collaboration between historians, literary experts, writers, and literary critics is particularly important here. Their common task consists of revealing the objective logic of history, its natural laws, and the connection between historical events and depicting the continuity of the ideas of Great October, the cause of the revolution, and the current restructuring. At the same time, they will have to fill in the "blank pages" and restore historical justice.

However, the bringing together of scientists and writers, the speaker stressed, does not mean a unification of views and assessments but rather an intensification of businesslike mutual communication and a pooling of efforts.

An especially sensitive and delicate question where a polarization of approaches and assessments is absolutely impermissible is the sphere of relations between nationalities. Here national and international, and class and national interests are closely intertwined and call specifically for new thinking. It cannot be overlooked, the speaker noted, that neglect and dogmatism in theoretical and practical work in this sphere in particular have been reflected in negative reverberations in a number of the country's regions. V.I. Kasyanenko, chief editor of the journal VOPROSY ISTORII KPSS and corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences, then delivered a report entitled "Basic Development Patterns and Topical Questions of the History of Soviet Society."

The ideology of renewal and awareness of the need for change in all spheres of the life and work of society took shape in the course of the search for realistic assessments of the state of affairs in society and the prospects of its development. A special place belongs to the CPSU Central Committee February (1988) Plenum.

The CPSU Central Committee continues to vigorously support courageous, innovative newspaper and journal materials which help to advance our restructuring and criticize conservative and dogmatic forces and antirestructuring sentiments. An example of this was the 5 April PRAVDA editorial article entitled "The Principles of Restructuring: The Revolutionary Nature of Ideas and Actions."

History has today become a kind of magnetic field for a general galvanization which is noticeably influencing the processes of the renewal of the people's historical memory, the speaker said further. Many of the questions that are currently being debated in the press have troubled writers, literary critics, and historians for a long time. But it is only now that we have grasped, that we have become painfully aware of what great losses we have sustained in depicting the Truth in life and in history, in molding historical consciousness, and in patriotic and international education.

A correct, objective, dialectical perception and assessment of the essential values and deformations of real socialism and the identification of the objective and subjective factors which cause them provide the basic principles of the renewal of our history and of the historical consciousness of the present generation of the people. Our restructuring presupposes the full restoration of the Leninist concept of socialism and, in line with this, the renewal of the history of the building and development of socialism. One of the topical problems is

the idenfication and characterization of the crucial periods of the development of Soviet society. Prime importance here is attached to defining the criteria which distinguish these stages taking account of accumulated experience.

By combining the genres of history as a science and the depiction of history in art we gain a unique opportunity to radically renew the historical consciousness of the people from the height of the current level of knowledge and literary creation and to transform it into a powerful force of restructuring.

Subjecting the problems which are confronting historical science today to detailed analysis, the speaker emphasized the need for unity and cooperation between writers and historians and for an interprofessional exchange of knowledge and experience.

P.A. Nikolayev, corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences, devoted his report to the problem of the depiction of the history of Soviet society in fiction and to the tasks of literary criticism. He noted that the complex nature of this problem stems not only from the current acute and contradictory situation in literature and the arts and the inadequate level of our current scientific knowledge of Soviet society's history but also from causes pertaining to theoretical esthetics and art criticism. The author believes that one of these causes is the lack of a generally accepted viewpoint of the specific nature of art.

Serious science, the scientist said, is far removed from a disrespectful attitude to art, but it has had little influence on mass consciousness and as a result of this even professional literary criticism most often judges works of art from positions of "naive realism," that is from the viewpoint of the literal conformity between reality and artistic creation in a given work. The speaker described the lack of unity between criticism and theory, in particular philosophical theory, as a calamity of current ideological-artistic life.

Speaking about the concept of "socialist realism," the speaker emphasized that it is necessary to regard both the words which make up this term as of equal "specific gravity."

In this context the speaker dwelt on the concept of artistic treatment of historical topics. What is needed, he stressed, is a socially sober approach and well-substantiated reasoning in the assessment of historical phenomena.

The potential of the Marxist teaching about art, the speaker noted, has still not been fully realized. Soviet literary science has a powerful stimulating factor and a reliable methodological guideline in its forward movement in the shape of the theoretical experience of our party. But, of course, important new ideas are needed, and in particular new advances in the conception of realism, and above all socialist realism, are essential.

Then a discussion began. Taking part in the debate during the morning session were F. Kuznetsov, corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences; A. Lanshchikov, literary critic; V. Astafyev, writer; D. Urnov, chief editor of the journal VOPROSY LITERATURY; and M. Shatrov, playwright.

The conference is attended by A.N. Yakovlev, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, and Yu.P. Voronov and V.A. Grigoryev, chiefs of CPSU Central Committee departments.

The conference continues.

Historian Medvedev's Works To Be Published

LD290240 Moscow in English to North America 2200 GMT 28 Apr 88

[Text] Historian Roy Medvedev believes that Stalin's rule and the Stalin cult were not inevitable. History, he says, is the scene of the action of masses of people, as well as leaders and parties. It is impossible to foresee how it will develop. One can only try and predict possible alternatives. The historian makes these points in an interview with the Moscow weekly SOBESEDNIK. Here are the details:

Roy Medvedev recalls that in an article written 6 years ago for a Western magazine he pointed out three possible ways the Soviet Union might be developing around the year 2000. For one, conservative leadership remained in power and stagnation continued. Six years ago he believed this possible but unlikely. His second forecast was (?a) compromise reform that started things moving but not as fast as society needed. The historian regarded this as the most likely variant. And third, there was the possibility of a group of energetic reformers inside the Communist Party to come to the fore, reject old methods, and begin a new policy oriented at drastic progress. Six years ago the historian believed this to be less probable than a compromise reform.

In the weekly SOBESEDNIK Roy Medvedev says he's glad that the country has embarked on the present course, though the year 2000 is still far off. It sometimes happens in history, he says, that the least likely alternative is chosen. He believes mistakes may still occur, the country is at a crossroads, many problems have yet to be solved, a struggle is going on, the conservative forces are still very strong, and it's too early to say definitely that progress will win.

The historian believes that truthful coverage of the nation's history could help the progressive trend win. History, he says, should stop being interpreted in a way that serves the aims of the present. It should become a science that helps the nation to advance.

Views expressed by historian Roy Medvedev to the Moscow weekly SOBESEDNIK. [sentence as heard] Roy Medvedev has written books about Stalin, Khrushchev, and Bucharin but these have only appeared in print published in the West. As a man opposed to the former leaderhsip, he was unable to publish his books in this country, but now his writings will be published.

Historians Express Support for Restructuring

PM271455 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 24 Apr 88 Second Edition p2

[Letter to PRAVDA from academicians and corresponding members of the USSR Academy of Sciences under the rubric "From the Current Mail": "The Truth of History Is the Source of Our Strength"—last paragraph is editorial note]

[Text] The process of revolutionary renewal begun by the party in April 1985 is evidence of socialism's enormous reserves of strength built up by the creative labor of the popular masses over 70 years.

Soviet society is growing stronger in a struggle against old, obsolete ideas which is based on specific political priorities: More glasnost, more democracy, more socialism. These priorities reflect the ability of the socialist system to criticize itself and improve itself, which is convincing evidence of its vital strength.

As at any crucial, revolutionary stage in the development of society, it is history, historical experience in all its diversity and contradictory nature that becomes a problem area for understanding the present day. Articles for discussion, letters to the editorial offices of newspapers and journals, and current affairs writing are all evidence of a sharp increase in the interest felt by broad strata of the population in our country's past. The people's historical awareness is being shaped to an increasing extent on the basis of the principles of scientific historical method and truth. The truth of history is indeed a powerful source of strength for restructuring. "Our strength lies in the affirmation of truth!" V.I. Lenin emphasized.

In the conditions of the revolutionary restructuring of society historical scientists are faced with the tasks of restoring our history to its true form and condemning and rejecting everything that has prevented the country from moving forward in order to accelerate our progress along the path chosen by Lenin. Only on this basis will we be able to take active part in the patriotic and international education of our citizens, particularly young people, and strengthen faith in socialism's brilliant ideals.

The process of restructuring has also begun in historical science. Research is now based on considerably more extensive documentation. The historical works now being prepared aim to show the real successes in building a new society and also to reveal the negative factors retarding and distorting our progress and fill in the blanks in our history.

The social function of historical science is now apparent in the development of numerous discussions on serious problems concerning the history of Soviet society and in the reassessment of the role played by public figures in the past. These creative discussions are being conducted in mass lecture halls, in scientific institutions, and through the mass media: radio, television, and the press.

Soviet historians are wholly behind the party in its course to realize the ideological-political and economic potential of restructuring and revive and strengthen the Leninist principles of socialist development. Fully supporting the stand of principle taken by the 5 April 1988 PRAVDA editorial article in its assessment of anti-restructuring trends, we call for the consolidation of Soviet people's creative efforts to further improve socialism and ensure the constructive renewal of society. Preparing with all the people for the 19th all-union party conference, we voice our full support for the party course of revolutionary restructuring.

The people have made their choice. Social life cannot and must not return to outmoded methods of leadership and practice.

Academicians: S. Tikhvinskiy, Yu. Bromley, A. Samsonov, I. Mints, M. Kim, G. Sevostyanov, A. Narochnitskiy, B. Rybakov, I. Kovalchenko, Yu. Kukushkin;

Corresponding members of the USSR Academy of Sciences: V. Kumanev, A. Novoseltsev, G. Bongard-Levin, G. Litavrin, Yu. Polyakov, V. Grashchenkov, M. Kapitsa, V. Kasyanenko.

The PRAVDA editorial office has also received responses in support of the article "Principles of Restructuring: Revolutionary Thoughts and Actions" from the USSR Union of Scientific and Technical Societies Presidium, a group of staffers from the USSR Academy of Sciences Koltsov Developmental Biology Institute, a number of republic-level creative union boards, and many other social organizations and citizens.

New Antireform Manifesto Published by Journal

AU281417 Paris AFP in English 1347 GMT 28 Apr 88

[Text] Moscow, April 28 (AFP)—Soviet authorities Thursday permitted a Soviet journal to publish a biting criticism of supporters of Mikhail Gorbachev's reform drive known as perestroyka. It reversed a ban which had delayed publication of the April issue of MOLODAYA GVARDIYA for more than a month.

"If everyone lets his 'dissatisfaction' with socialism show, no perestroyka will take place," a 20-page letter by Communist Party veteran M. Malakhov said, referring to what he considered to be the excesses of "glasnost", or openness. "We will end up with an ideological permissiveness which will lead to anarchy." His article echoed opinions in the March 13 edition of the daily SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA which had expressed concern that attacks on Soviet dictator Josef Stalin were going too far and that the reforms were leading the country away from socialism.

The MOLODAYA GVARDIYA article had reportedly been approved on March 12, but publication was held up after the SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA article was firmly rebuffed by the Communist Party daily PRAVDA on April 5. The SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA piece had been reprinted in the local press with the full force of a policy document before the PRAVDA reaffirmed that "perestroyka" and "glasnost" continued.

Mr. Malakhov, who said he had been a Communist Party member for more than 60 years, responded to "the tendency to condemn the people of my generation for all the faults of the economy and in life in recent decades." He rejected the "fashionable condemnation" of forced collectivisation in the early 1930s, and said that while 1937 and 1938—when the show trials and mass purges were under way—should not be forgotten, "we should not always go on about it." "It was particularly in the 1930s when we achieved the ideas of Lenin," he said pointing to increased productivity and competitivity. The New Economic Policy of the 1920s, whose market-oriented policies have again found favour under Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev, had been intended by Lenin "only for a transition period and not for socialism already built."

Turning to the 1950s and 1960s, Mr. Malakhov complained that the years of Nikolay Krushchev's [first name as received] leadership were now being portrayed as the "golden age of our history". He reminded "those who have forgotten, or pretend to forget, that in some socialist countries there were negative forces where counter-revolutionary forces lifted their heads." Mr. Malakhov specifically mentioned Hungary and Czechoslovakia, adding that in the Soviet Union too during these years the dissident movement had become active, representing "apathy and cynicism."

Soviet dissident Roy Medvedev, in a first lengthy interview with an official Soviet newspaper issued Thursday, pointed out that the "forces of conservatism and dogmatism are still strong." "Not all the questions have been resolved on how to go forward. There is a struggle, and whether there will be progress or not remains to be seen," he told the weekly SOBESEDNIK.

The debate between the Communist Party's conservative and reforming wings has intensified as the party prepares for a major conference devoted to the current reforms in June.

Nagorno-Karabakh Area Receiving Armenian TV

LD290859 Moscow TASS in English 0856 GMT 29 Apr 88

[Text] Baku April 29 TASS—People in Stepanakert and elsewhere in the Nagorno-Karabakh autonomous region of Azerbaijan today began receiving Armenian TV shows along with two national programs and Azerbaijan television, which could be watched there previously.

They can watch Armenian TV now thanks to a powerful repeater station built there over a very short time.

Its construction has been envisaged in a wide-ranging resolution adopted by the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee and the Soviet Government and specifying measures to speed up Nagorno-Karabakh's social and economic development in 1988 through 1995.

Azerbaijan Central Committee on CPSU's Work

NC2804071688 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 1600 GMT 25 Apr 88

[Text] The Leninist principles of the national policy pursued by the CPSU Central Committee and the Committee's current efforts were discussed at a meeting of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee Economic Aktivs School held in the Dzerzhinskiy Club on Saturday. Kyamran Bagirov, first secretary of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee and head of the party Economic Aktivs School, addressed the meeting. Afrand Dashdamirov, chief of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee Propaganda and Agitation Department, read a report on the Leninist principles of the CPSU Central Committee's national policy and on the CPSU Central Committee's current work. The meeting was attended by Oktay Bagirov, Svetlana Kasumova, Ramiz Mekhtiyev, Musa Mamedov, Artur Rasi-Zade, Lidiya Rasulova, Gasan Seidov, Gasan Gasanov, and Sahib Alekperov.

Azerbaijan Law on Culture Preservation Discussed

NC2804090388 Baku International Service in Azeri 1200 GMT 25 Apr 88

[Text] The Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Soviet Permanent Cultural Commission held a meeting in Baku to discuss the Ministry of Culture's work toward implementing the law on the protection and use of historical and cultural monuments in the Azerbaijan SSR. Minister of Culture Professor Zakir Bagirov addressed the meeting. He said that his ministry was making a significant effort to [words indistinct] the historical and cultural monuments and to discover, learn about, and protect them, as well as use them for cultural and educational purposes. He asserted that a significant effort was also being made to study the history of cultural monuments.

In its decision the commission advised the republic's Ministry of Culture and all the local party organs to upgrade the quality of work on discovering, learning

about, and recording the republic's historical and cultural monuments. About 6,000 historical and cultural monuments have been discovered in the republic thus far. More than R14 million have been allocated for their upkeep.

Armenians Back Restructuring Policy, Editorial

PM281055 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 27 Apr 88 First Edition p 2

[Unattributed report under the rubric: "From the PRAVDA Mailbag": "Workers' Speech"]

[Text] Yerevan—We, the Communists of the Nos 4, 6, and 17 shops of the Armelektromash Production Association, ardently support the party's revolutionary course of restructuring. As working people, we are convinced that there is no alternative to restructuring and that today's marked improvements in resolving a number of economic and social tasks would have been impossible without a resolute turnaround toward democratization. Therefore we wholly and completely approve the PRAVDA editorial: "Principles of Restructuring: Revolutionary Nature of Thinking and Acting." Like many other labor collectives in the country, our collective, working in conditions of self-financing and economic accountability [khozraschet], is implementing the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress and mobilizing all its forces to greet the 19th all-union party conference in a worthy manner.

There are people and even an organ of the press who are trying to apply the brakes, reverse the movement of our society, and cast a slur on everything that is new, healthy, and progressive. We state with complete worker's plain speaking that we will not permit this. This was decided unanimously at shop open party conferences.

Kolbin at Kazakh Meeting on Construction

LD271136 Alma-Ata Domestic Service in Kazakh 1400 GMT 25 Apr 88

[Text] At the session hall of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan Central Committee, a republican seminar concerning the topical matters for the development of capital construction in the condition of applying the USSR Law on State Enterprises was held today.

Taking part in its work were obkom secretaries, deputy chairmen of oblispolkoms, leaders of ministries and departments, of construction and installation organizations, of enterprises for construction industry, of planning institutions, and of oblast administrations of the bank for construction industry and for material and technical supply.

The seminar was opened by Comrade Kolbin, first secretary of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan Central Committee. A report on the practical measures for implementing the resolutions of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers on introduction of new mechanisms and development of construction materials enterprises and the construction industry base of capital construction was delivered by Bashmakov, first deputy chairman of the Kazakh SSR Council of Ministers. After that, an additional reports were heard. The report and additional reports were discussed and work experiences exchanged. Melnikov, head of the CPSU Central Committee Construction Department; Sidorov, deputy minister of the USSR Construction Materials Industry; (Dubiyensky), first deputy chairman of the administration of the Bank for Construction Industry, spoke at the seminar. Taking part in the seminar's work were Meshcheryakov, Urzhmov, secretaries of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan Central Committee; Sidorova, deputy chairman of the Presidium of the KASSR Supreme Soviet; (Patrakov), deputy chairman of the USSR State Committee for Material and Technical Supply; (Reva), head of the administration of the USSR State Committee for Material and Technical Supply. The report of the seminar will be published in the press.

RSFSR Ministers Examine Trade, Alcoholism

LD271855 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1530 GMT 27 Apr 88

[Text] A routine session of the RSFSR Council of Ministers Presidium took place today. It examined the measures being taken by the RSFSR Ministry of Trade to step up pressure on industry to increase output, expand the range and improve the quality of consumer goods. The RSFSR Council of Ministers Presidium also examined the question of the work of the Soviet, economic and law enforcement bodies in Saratov oblast aimed at fulfilling the party and government decisions on overcoming drunkenness and alcoholism.

During the examination of the first question it was noted that the RSFSR trade and industry have this year failed, to date, to conclude agreements on deliveries of goods other than foodstuffs to the value of approximately R4 billion.

It was stated that trade failed to address strict demands to the enterprises in cases where there were deviations from standards. Attention was drawn to the tendency whereby industry curtailed the output of relatively cheap goods, whilst production of goods sold at the so-called contractural prices would, at the same time, be going up.

Justified complaints from customers about the absence of good quality, cheap and, in particular, children's goods resulted from this. Moreover, neither trade nor industry suffer any losses here. Industry easily covers the sums paid by way of fines to trade by producing more costly goods, while trade covers the losses due to shortfalls in deliveries from the sums paid by way of fines, mentioned above. As a result, it is you and I, the customer, who lose out on all this. This was stated at the

session of the Presidium. Measures have been drawn up to put right the situation that has arisen. We can judge their implementation by looking in our shop windows and shop counters.

The second question examined at the session of the Presidium may appear untypical, when compared with the first one. We are talking of Saratov Oblast. However, symptoms of a more general, calamitous situation, can clearly be discerned in this untypical dimension. After all, many of us have noticed the growing shortage of sugar, something that is directly connected with the growth in the number of those who produce alcoholic beverages at home.

Generally speaking, apparently we cannot but admit that, having become happy for a while at the initial successes in the campaign against drunkenness and alcoholism, we have slackened our efforts here. This can be illustrated by the example of the selfsame Saratov Oblast. If in 1986 a process of decline in the use of alcoholic beverages was noted, relative to the preceding year, and, as a consequence, a decline in the incidence of injuries and accidents and a strengthening in labor discipline—then in 1987 a reverse process began to take shape. The number of crimes perpetrated by persons in the condition of alcoholic intoxication has, relative to 1986, increased by almost 17 percent. The number of premeditated murders and incidents of grievous bodily harm caused by drunkenness has increased by 6.5 percent. One in three road accidents in Saratov Oblast was caused by drunk drivers.

As has been noted at the RSFSR Council of Ministers Presidium session all these facts are explained, to a significant extent, by the fact that the campaign against drunkenness has failed to become a cause for the whole public. It is being carried on, in the main, only by the efforts of the law enforcement bodies.

For instance, a mere 7 percent of the registered total of cases of illegal brewing was brought to light by the public last year. More than that: there are cases when facts of drunkenness are concealed. Last year fines failed to be recovered from 18,000 persons who violated anti-alcohol laws. One in four of the Militia's representations concerning facts of drunkenness was left altogether unanswered.

The RSFSR Council of Ministers Presidium has instructed the Saratov Oblast Executive Jcommittee to restructure radically the work aimed at establishing a healthy way of life and to implement additional measures to deal with the campaign against drunkenness and alcoholism.

Estonian Party Plenum Discusses Education

PM271543 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 24 Apr 88 Second Edition p 2

[Own correspondent V. Shirokov report under general heading "Plenums Held"]

[Text] Tallin, 23 Apr—An Estonian Communist Party Central Committee plenum held today discussed the republic party organization's tasks connected with implementing the decisions of the CPSU Central Committee February (1988) Plenum. The plenum participants discussed questions relating to all aspects of activity in the public education sphere and the political and material backing for its improvement and renewal. A report was given by I.Kh. Toome, secretary of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee.

The speakers emphasized that the school reform will cease to mark time when a clear concept of public education is evolved.

They also comprehensively analyzed the state of ideological work in the republic and the need to consolidate all party and social forces at the current dynamic stage in the restructuring process.

K.G. Vayno, first secretary of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee, and Yu.A. Sklyarov, head of the CPSU Central Committee Propaganda Department, took part in and addressed the plenum.

Home Distilling Increases Sugar Shortage

LD291056 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0800 GMT 29 Apr 88

[Text] Where is the sugar going? In March, there was no granulated sugar on sale in Kuybyshev, Ordzonikidze, Zhitomir, or Simferopol. It was reported from Ulan Ude, Kishinev, Yakutsk, and Tiraspol that the daily quota of sugar is sufficient only for 2-4 hours of trade. From April, sugar began to be sold for coupons on the basis of 1 and 1/2 kilograms per person per month in Voronezh, Sverdlovsk, Maykop, Zaporozhe, and Grodno. The same practice is spreading in other places.

It was stated at the USSR Ministry of Trade that sugar stocks have not been reduced in any republics. The growth of consumption of this product is directly related to the growth of home-distilling, and therefore local bodies have been advized to control the sale of sugar. It must not be allowed to be made into home-distilled alcohol.

Other difficulties are arising, such as profiteering and theft. Last year 242,000 kilograms of sugar was stolen. According to USSR State Committee for Statistics data, about 1 million tonnes of sugar went into home-distilled alcohol in 1985. This figure has risen to approximately 1.5 million tonnes. A broad set of measures is needed to ensure that recurrences of the sugar fever do not break out in future. This means stepping up the fight against home-distilling and the normalization of the alcohol trade. It seems that the reduction of its volume should proceed systematically, without ostentatious haste and

unjustified rushing ahead. It also means the expansion of the assortment of goods which could be offered to the consumer. In a word, the problem needs to be carefully analyzed and solved.

Brezhnev Son-in-Law Reportedly To Be Tried
AU280643 Paris AFP in English 0211 GMT 28 Apr 88

[Text] Moscow, April 28 (AFP)—The son-in-law of late Soviet President Leonid Brezhnev, Yuriy Churbanov, is to go on trial on corruption charges in public hearings in September, a Soviet journalist said here on Wednesday.

Dmitriy Likhanov, a journalist with the Soviet weekly OGONEK, was responding to a question during one of his magazine's occasional meetings with the public. Wednesday evening's meeting was attended by about 1,000 Muscovites who came to put questions to a panel.

Mr. Churbanov, a former first deputy interior minister and the third husband of Mr. Brezhnev's daughter Galina, was arrested in January 1987. He is accused of accepting bribes of more than 650,000 rubles (more than one million dollars) and abuse of power. He was stripped of his ministerial rank in 1984, two years after Mr. Brezhnev's death.

If the announcement of a public trial is confirmed, it would mean that the Soviet leadership of Mikhail Gorbachev has resolved to expose the corruption associated with the Brezhnev regime.

Galina Brezhnev, who was reputedly the mistress of one "Boris the Gypsy" at the Moscow circus, was at the centre of a network of intrigues and scandals. The circus's director, Lev Kolevatov, was sentenced to 13 years in prison in 1984, while the manager of the capital's leading foodstore, Gastronom Number One, Yuriy Sokolov, was executed the same year.

Economic crimes carry the death sentence in the Soviet Union. The OGONEK journalist said that he was preparing an article about the Churbanov case.

Shooting of Militia Officer, Arrest Detailed
PM281344 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 28 Apr 88 Second Edition p 6

[Special correspondent A. Chernenko report: "The Arrest"]

[Text] Dolgoprudnyy and Moscow—They were to meet last Saturday, at precisely 1000 hours. It is hard to say how the meeting would have ended for the girl. Fortunately the rendezvous did not take place....

"Hey, girl, do you want to be filmed for the movies?"

What adolescent could resist the temptation of trying to become a movie star?

"Of course I do!"

"Well, let's try it tomorrow, on location.... Come to Kilometer 15 on the Savelovskaya Railroad."

No, nobody knows how that morning trip would have turned out for her, if the girl had not shared her unexpected delight with her mother, who, in turn, shared her very natural nagging doubts with an officer of the 174th militia station of Timiryazevskiy Rayon Internal Affairs Administration, Senior Lieutenant I. Khotulev.

A comment from Militia Colonel P. Soin, chief of Moscow's Timiryazevskiy Rayon Internal Affairs Administration:

"Unfortunately people do not very often share such doubts with us. It is a pity. So many disasters could be prevented.... And in this respect we can only be tremendously grateful to the mother, whose heart sensed something wrong.... She could have simply refused to let her daughter go. But no, she considered it her duty to think of others too. And thanks to her, we caught a very dangerous man.'

What a wonderfully fresh April morning last Saturday was! It did not foreshadow anything out of the ordinary, still less anything tragic. The charm of the spring forest was also felt by Timiryazevskiy Rayon Internal Affairs Administration divisional officer Senior Lieutenant A. Moiseyev, who was ordered to "respond" to the alarming information.

But he and militia driver Aleksey Kolesnikov "spotted" the adolescent L. immediately. Unerringly: "You could see from his eyes that some calamity had shaken the boy, he was evidently beside himself!" According to him, someone had tried to persuade him to do something extremely shameful.... Instantly comparing the adolescent's story with the information received at the militia station, Moiseyev had no doubt that they had caught up with the man they were looking for. And there he was....

Comment from Col P. Soin:

"But who could have suspected that this quiet little man, who followed Moiseyev submissively, was a ruthless villain? In fact, Moiseyev did not even search him properly. A blunder? But who could guarantee that adolescent emotionality had not played a cruel joke here? The boy was in a state of shock, and could easily have pointed not to the man who had committed the outrage, but simply to a passer-by."

Moiseyev took the suspect to the car; the criminal suddenly pulled out a revolver and shot the officer in the stomach at point-blank range. He collapsed heavily onto the rails....

Kolesnikov, who was on standby near the car, flung himself in the direction of the shot.

The drama of the situation was intensified by the fact that the chase began not far from the settlement of Ilinskoye. There were people in the firing zone. (On that lovely morning, many whole families were out in the forest.)

The criminal shot at Kolesnikov openly, without stopping to think. All the sergeant could do was to fire...into the air. There were people around, he could not put their lives at risk. The militiaman fired eight (!) warning shots into the air, and only then, when there were no longer any bystanders in the firing zone, did he begin to shoot at the bandit's legs.

But the bandit broke away from the sergeant.

Commentary from Col P. Soin:

"I am always pleased to find that at critical moments people come to our assistance, often modest but exceptionally courageous people who risk their own lives along with our fighters. But you sometimes read that a worker who arrested a bandit, armed into the bargain, has been rewarded with a valuable gift, and you wonder: 'Why not an order? After all, he was unarmed. He was facing death! It is he who deserves an award, not us! Yet they give him a gift....' I do not understand that. Obviously a man does not face a knife or a bullet for the sake of a medal. All the same, I don't understand it...."

Yuriy Bogdanov, metalworker at the Lianozovo electrical equipment plant, was in the forest by chance. Running toward the shots, he saw a fleeing bandit who was firing crazily at a militia man.

...I don't know how Bogdanov works when he is in the shop, I have not been able to find out whether he is married or has children, or the other "questionnaire data." But I know the most important thing: The ordinary workman Yuriy Bogdanov did not waste much time thinking: He ran to help.

Philosophy is measured by actions. For the umpteenth time I remembered this phrase of my naval commanding officer's as I reflected on what it means—to run unarmed into a firing zone for several meters and attack, bring down, and overpower a bandit. But Bogdanov did it! And together with Sgt Kolesnikov, he rendered him harmless.

Soon the militia men who arrived on the scene had "packed" the bandit into a car and delivered him to the 174th militia station, where the operation had in fact begun the previous evening.

Col P. Soin:

"Let me explain, this operation was on a larger scale than it might appear, because we had to monitor a very substantial area. The trap was 'set' by 16 men. It was this that made it possible to give prompt assistance to the wounded Moiseyev and to ensure the speediest possible support for Kolesnikov and the bystander who helped him, the metalworker Bogdanov."

...The ambulance sped to Dolgoprudnyy, where surgeons were already preparing to operate. They removed Moiseyev's kidney and stitched a laceration in his liver—this very serious operation was successful. Yesterday evening the officer's condition was satisfactory.

And the self-styled director proved indeed to have links with the movie world. Gennadiy Anatolyevich Orlik worked until recently at the Gorkiy movie studio as an expert in weapons and pyrotechnics. At the time of his arrest they confiscated from him more than 100 cartridges, TNT charges, smoke bombs, a revolver, an explosive device, letterheads from the Gorkiy movie studio, a camera... Frankly, a strange collection of objects. And as food for thought, he was carrying 75 photographs of naked children....

At least 200 photographs and negatives showing children were found at Orlik's home. What kind of photographs were they? What kind of children do they show? The investigation will answer these questions.

Col P. Soin:

"Unfortunately the incident at Kilometer 15 has led to incredible rumors. Although, as you can see, the situation over the arrest of the criminal, unusual as it was, was quite simple. We concealed nothing and do not intend to conceal anything. But we would like moms and dads to be more attentive to their kids, and if any concern or doubt of some kind arises, to tell us about it immediately. And not only on those grounds... There is no point in concealing the fact that it does happen that you find an indifferent official in the militia, who is too lazy to step outside the station. But this case showed a different side—the alarming information virtually instantaneously became the starting point for a specific operation."

Labor Veteran Calls for Truth About Stalin

PM261021 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 17 Apr 88 p 2

[Article by labor veteran Ye.A. Okuntsova under the rubric "Current Mailbag": "We Will Not Backtrack"; boldface as published—first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] **The other day the editorial bureau received a long letter from Novosibirsk which, it transpired, had been sent at the end of March. We publish it with some abridgements.**

Novosibirsk—esteemed editorial bureau!

I am writing to you in response to the letter from N. Andreyeva published in SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA 13 March this year under the headline "I Cannot Waive My Principles."

Like N. Andreyeva, I worked as a VUZ lecturer. For 30 years I taught descriptive geometry and drawing at the Novosibirsk Railroad Engineering Institute. For many years I was dean of a student group.

My family was tortured by the sinister hand of repression. My father, A.K. Isayev, joined the party in 1920 in the city of Novonikolayevsk (now Novosibirsk). A former Cheka operative, he was arrested in 1936. My father spent 17 years in jail, in Kolyma, and in exile. He was rehabilitated in 1957. In his latter years he was a personal pensioner of union status.

In the thirties Stalin said: "The son is not responsible for the father," but....

"These words became worthless.

"And the title of son of an enemy of the people

"Became established despite everything." (A. Tvardovskiy).

In short, my mother and I, as the "family of an enemy of the people," were sent in 1937 from Moscow to Siberia (Taru City), where we spent 6 years. In 1943 we escaped, destroyed the documents stamped NKVD, and I have been living in Novosibirsk for 45 years now.

My job as a lecturer was my pride and joy—a quest for methods of teaching and educating students.

Although I am retired, I am very concerned about the problems of teaching and educating students. How can we ensure that students become both specialists and good citizens?

I am convinced that the main means of educating young people should be the truth—the whole truth without embellishment, fabrication, or hypocrisy.

Young people and students should be told nothing but the truth!

I would like to believe that N. Andreyeva is sincere, but her letter literally staggered and deeply disturbed me. It struck me as a sign of regression....

N. Andreyeva writes that students at the Leningrad Technological Institute named for the Leningrad Soviet have become more active, are discussing various problems, and have been charged with the "energy of revolutionary changes." This would seem to be a good thing. But it turns out that they sometimes discuss problems suggested by "Western radio voices"....

Is that bad? Not very, to my mind. It is better to openly discuss problems prompted by our enemies once these problems become of concern to people, and to analyze them, understand them, and dot the "i's."

What else are the "Tech" students "guilty" of?

It turns out, N. Andreyeva writes, that at a meeting with Hero of the Soviet Union Colonel V.F. Molozev, retired, the students asked a question about political repression within the army. "The veteran replied that he had not come across any repression.... Some people were disappointed with this answer. Now that it has become topical, the subject of repression has been blown up out of all proportion in some young people's imagination and overshadows any objective interpretation of the past."

Well I never! Some answer, and some commentary on it! What utter drivel! If we answer and make comments like that, we will only exacerbate the students' "overblown" imaginations and intensify nihilism. The veteran dodged the question. He was precisely the person to tell the students about the repression in the army in the thirties. To my mind, it was necessary to state that in 1937-1938, one-fifth of the officer corps was subjected to repression.

It was necessary to talk about the victories in the civil war, the services of M.V. Frunze, V.K. Blyukher, M.N. Tukhachevskiy, I.E. Yakir, and A.I. Yegorov.... About B.M. Dumenko, the creator of the legendary First Cavalry. About the work Tukhachevskiy had to do in order to set up tank corps, and how they were disbanded as being the brainchild of "enemies of the people." About the fact that they started being set up again just before the war and after fascist Germany's victory over France, when the theory of deep tank incursions across the frontier was used. About how the founder of the theory was M.N. Tukhachevskiy. How the international journalist Ernst Genri in his book "Hitler Versus the USSR," published in 1938, not only foresaw the war, but even its course and outcome.

So who will tell the students the truth—the heroic, victorious truth and the bitter tragic truth? The whole truth.

It is clear from the letter that students are hampered in analyzing the social sciences and history by "logorrhea" (what a word!). Let's discuss this.

With regard to "terrorism"—did it take place or didn't it? No, Andreyeva does not deny that it did, she is just ironical about it. She does not realize that there is no "logorrhea" about terrorism. Or that we are making joint efforts to try to understand and research the nature of it, the reasons for it, and its results and consequences. In order to prevent terror being repeated.

With regard to "political servility" and "universal fear"—was there fear? There was none under Lenin and for a certain time after him. There was nobody to fear.

Our fathers—communists—did not teach us to lie or to be hypocritical and afraid. But we still tell our school-age children and grandchildren: "Look, don't speak out of turn." Since the thirties we have been so gripped by fear that we are still trembling today.

Academician V.I. Vernadskiy wrote in his diary (16 April 1941): "Millions of people have been 'temporarily' turned into prisoners: a kind of slavery." This is the crux of the whole matter—the "personality cult." It was created by fear. But life would not be worth living if we did not believe that this fear would be overcome. And it is now that we are in the process of overcoming it. Not for nothing did we recall the slogan which under Lenin was a spelling exercise and a symbol of faith for the people: "We are not slaves. Slaves are dumb."

We do not want to be slaves.

We do not want to be dumb.

Here it is apposite to mention the following rebuke that has been levelled at us: It is not a question of Stalin, "it is a question of us." (L. Anninskiy, ZNAMYA No 6 1987). That is—"there is a lid on the pot," as the great Rabelais said.

But this is where I disagree with L. Anninskiy. We did not become slaves immediately. The people resisted, the "pot" bubbled up. How, it seemed, was it possible to oppose a villain who, even as he was coming to power, armed himself with the methods of the Jesuits? How was it possible to oppose a dictator who had turned the NKVD organs into a punitive apparatus, and the law enforcement organs into a flock of servants and criminals? And yet there was opposition.

At the forefront of the opposition were Leninists: N.I. Bukharin, A.I. Rykov, Kh.G. Rakovskiy....

We remember the proud words of Academician N.I. Vavilov: "We will go to the bonfire and burn, but we will not abandon our convictions!" That—in public! That—in 1939! I am tormented by the picture of N.I. Vavilov—a scientist of world renown and a humanist—in the sandals and "tunic" of slaves of Ancient Rome, a sack with holes for his head and hands, being interrogated.... We recently learned about the heroism shown by Aleksandr Kosarev, general secretary of the Komsomol Central Committee, Valentina Pikina, Serafim Bogachev, and Vladimir Aleksandrov—the real leaders of those who built the Gorkiy Motor Vehicle Plant, the Kharkov Tractor Plant, Magnitogorsk, Khibina.... They were real heroes!

Was not the 17th party congress in 1934 also opposition? It is now known that Stalin and his entourage concealed the real results of the voting and committed a major political and then criminal offense—they subjected almost all the congress delegates to repression and eliminated 98 of the 139 members and candidate members of the party Central Committee.

Again and again, I say that students should be told the truth and nothing but the truth!

The accusation that can really be leveled against our journalists and writers is that they did little to publicize the heroism of those who resisted.

The final bit of "logorrhea" was about "dominance by boors in power."

There were very many boors. But what was Stalin himself? He also offended N.K. Krupskaya, and therefore V.I. Lenin and millions of other people. His executioners—Yezhov, Yagoda, Vyshinskiy, Beria, Khvat, and thousands of others—were also boors. They rained down insults on their victims at hearings and in the press. Of course, it is very shameful that the "pot" did have such a "lid." So perhaps that too should be covered up?

N. Andreyeva writes: "Industrialization, collectivization, and cultural revolution are being forcibly squeezed into the 'personality cult' formula...." Just why are they "being squeezed"? Everyone knows about the criminal methods used to bring about collectivization, for instance, how blatantly the principles of kolkhoz activity were violated, how Lenin's teaching on cooperatives was flouted....

Incidentally, it is worth noting here how N. Andreyeva explains the abandonment of villages in the non-Chernozem Zone. "I reply that this is part of the high price we had to pay for victory and the postwar restoration of the national economy...." Well I never!

Cultural revolution? Yes, there were achievements that everyone has heard about—the elimination of illiteracy, for instance, and much else besides. But here is one horrifying example. Under Stalin more than 500 (!) writers were repressed and posthumously (!) rehabilitated (LITERATURNAYA GAZETA, 23 December 1987).

N. Andreyeva writes: "I support the party call to uphold the honor and dignity of the trailblazers of socialism..." and adds: "of all leaders... including Stalin." But we still do not even know the names of many of the trailblazers, some of whom were trampled upon and crushed underfoot. Now we are learning about them, they are being rehabilitated, articles are appearing about them.... But how can there be any question of honor for Stalin and his underlings? That is blasphemy. If a bandit kills someone, we demand the supreme punishment without wanting to know about any of his services. But at the same time, we subserviently seek the "services" of a scoundrel who wiped out millions of people. Truly "one murder is a murder, millions of murders are a statistic." This, my dear countrymen, is cynicism.

N. Andreyeva explains that history will decide which "figure" will "receive an objective assessment." Yes, history will pass judgment. As is now becoming known, we won the war not thanks to but despite Stalin. (One need only read the memoirs of Marshal G.K. Zhukov).

Any plans or decisions conceived by Stalin were failures. Sometimes failure was averted. But at what a price!

In her letter, N. Andreyeva "resolves" inter alia some complex and now topical problems—the nationalities and class problems. In my opinion, we have no time now for the arrogance of nations. It seems to me that we have been driven into things like Karabakh by ignoble actions, which are now being revealed and condemned. Sometimes they are revealed by our most honest writers, such as V. Astafyev in his story "Catching Gudgeon in Georgia." I was very galled by the fact that at the Eighth Writers Congress the writers S. Mikhalkov and G. Tsitsishvili kicked up a fuss about this story. That is exactly how national enmity is sown. Valentin Rasputin (our conscience and our pride) rebuked them at the time. He said that any problem is our common problem and should be discussed as a common rather than national problem. That is the basis of our friendship.

On the class issue, N. Andreyeva gives an extensive interpretation of the "ideas" of A. Prokhanov. The artificial division of people into ideological "currents," the labeling—as "left-liberal socialists" or "conservatives and traditionalists"—and the nit-picking provisos are disorientating and divisive and divert people from the problems of restructuring. Andreyeva even went so far as to claim that "left liberal" socialists are striving to ensure that "all leaders of the party Central Committee and the Soviet Government be compromised after leaving their jobs...." This is not just an insinuation and a clear attempt to intimidate the current leadership. The worst thing is that it is a witch-hunt. Under Stalinism, party leaders and Central Committee and government members were defamed and exterminated. Andreyeva is not bothered by that—as we have already seen, she leaps to the defense of the "honor" of those who did the defaming and the exterminating.

Quite recently, N.S. Khrushchev was defamed. Now the truth is being restored. It seems to me that Fedor Burlatskiy's article (LITERATURNAYA GAZETA, 24 February 1988) was a model of objectivity.

The party calls on young people to learn the class view of the world and understand the links between general human interests and class interests. They should also learn to understand the class essence of the changes taking place in our country. It is clear that this should be taught first and foremost by the teachers. In order to give an expert answer to ideological, philosophical, and historical questions, teachers are obliged and duty bound to mold new thinking.

Let me be candid, in making this distressing analysis of the letter that was published, I have come to the following conclusion: Criticism and glasnost are being savagely attacked on the pretext of defending the moral health and social optimism of students, and our shining ideals. The entire letter is essentially an apotheosis of Stalinism and a defense of the "honor" of Stalin and his underlings and executioners. It turns out that the writer is not affected by the tragedies of millions of victims who were disgraced and tormented and their families who were also disgraced, destroyed, and torn asunder. She is concerned about stopping the revelations about criminals.

No, no, and no, I say! The truth must prevail. The truth is never excessive.

Students should be told nothing but the truth!

Soviet Poet Recalls Stalin Persecutions

OW150816 Ulaanbaatar MONTSAME in Russian 1400 GMT 12 Apr 88

[Text] Ulaanbaatar, 12 Apr (MONTSAME)—The common people of Kalmykiya suffered in the past. Once a secret order arrived, and Kalmyks were driven away into the cold of Siberia. Old people died along the route. Newborn babies died in the snow as soon as they fell on the ground, David Nikitich Kugultinov, famous Soviet poet and People's Poet of Kalmyk ASSR, said in his interview with the paper HODOLMOR. I spent 10 years in prison inside the Polar Circle for saying that one should make a distinction between black and white. Not everybody who has black hair is guilty. I took with me to prison a small volume by I. Tyutchev [a Russian poet]. As you remember, Vladimir Ilich Lenin's mother gave him a collection by Tyutchev when he was sent to exile. The same thing happened to Kaysyn Kuliyev [a Balkar poet] who also spent 10 years in prison. Generally, Stalin's "law" envisaged replacement of capital punishment with 10 years of confinement. Anyone who stayed alive knows how Stalin persecuted our generation. Many of my comrades could not survive the regime of camps and confinement and disappeared without a trace.

David Kugultinov talked about his reminiscences of his first visit to Mongolia. He graduated from a pedagogical school in 1940, but was called to serve in the Army at the age of 18. He said: We were sent to Mongolia and I found myself in Tamsagbulag, near the Halhin River.

The war began, and I was included in the military council for the procurement of livestock for the Red Army, because I knew Mongolian. I associated a lot with livestock breeders, and learned to know them as loyal friends.

Once I met an old Mongolian man who said, counting on his fingers as he spoke: Hitler is probably a blockhead because he dared to go to war against such powers as the Soviet Union, the United States, England, France, and

Mongolia. As he mentioned Mongolia he bent his little finger. He smiled slyly and said: There can be no fist without the little finger. There and then, he decided to present his stock free of charge.

I hurried to get to the front, for this had been my wish that was soon granted, Kugultinov reminisced.

The Soviet poet also dwelt on the creative work of D. Natsagdorj, founder of modern Mongolian literature. He said: He is a splendid poet. Unfortunately, not many of his works have been translated abroad. There still are many unclear things about his life and career. His life should be told in conjunction with the time when he lived. He has often been compared to Pushkin. Foreign translations of Natsagdorj's poems have been unsatisfactory. It is the task of Mongolians themselves to discover Natsagdorj, David Kugultinov noted.

Restructuring Viewed on Lenin's Birthday
PM271545 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 22 Apr 88 Second Edition p 1

[Editorial: "Checking Life Against Lenin"; uppercase as published]

[Text] Today is the 118th anniversary of the birth of Vladimir Ilich Lenin. In celebrating this date that is dear to us all, we express our respect and love for the man, the thinker, the revolutionary, the inspirer of October, the creator of our party and state.

Restructuring and the persistent work to revive the Leninist aspect of socialism and to cleanse it of accretions and deformations and of everything that fetters society and prevents the full realization of socialism's potential are the best evidence of fidelity to Lenin's ideas. We are inspired by the profundity and fearlessness of Ilich's creative thought, and we learn from him the skill of socioeconomic and political analysis, organizational art, and boundless devotion to the interests of the working class.

Three years have passed since the CPSU Central Committee April Plenum, held 23 April 1985, when the word "restructuring" entered our life. These years have convincingly shown how important it is to check our actions against Lenin, to turn to Leninist teaching in all its richness, and to rely on what is most valuable in Marxism—its revolutionary dialectics. Resolutely rejecting the dogmatic, bureaucratic, and voluntarist legacy, the party is not taking a single step away from socialism, away from what the people have achieved and created.

Restructuring has made us take a new look at many firmly established stereotypes and compare not only the path traveled but also the path still to come with the criteria of progress and the aims of the new society's creation formulated by the classics of Marxism-Leninism. This approach enables us to find the answers to urgent questions of socialist building and gives guidelines for the "utterly new cause" begun by the Russian Bolsheviks in October 1917 and being continued by us today. To ensure that one set of dogma is not replaced by another, the party directs communists and all Soviet people to make a constant quest and follow the changing demands of life.

The economy is one of the chief, key sectors on which the party is focusing efforts. Radical transformations are under way throughout the system of economic relations and are affecting deep-seated strata in the life of society. This tremendous work is underpinned by the Leninist idea that "socialism must effect this forward movement IN ITS OWN WAY, using its own methods or, to be more specific, SOVIET methods." The radical economic reform is a major political task, on whose success the country's future and its scaling of the heights of socioeconomic progress depend. From these positions we must today assess the attitude to economic restructuring and the contribution of everyone—economic leader and party worker, department and labor collective—to it.

The real progress that is already apparent in the resolution of a number of social and economic tasks would have been impossible without the democratization of all social life.

Lenin closely linked democratization with the strengthening of discipline and self-discipline. He considered meetings and discussions natural and useful for formulating decisions. And he made their implementation dependent on rigid discipline and self-discipline.

The entire course of the historical process has shown the profundity and the true value of the truth which Lenin did not tire of repeating: Socialism is the living creativity of the masses. The free development of this creativity and the elimination of everything that crushes or fetters the people's initiative are indispensable conditions of Soviet society's successful advance. Unfortunately, we are continuing to lose a great deal because we have been unable to fully unfetter the people's initiative, independence, and creativity. Everyone is prepared to admit this verbally. But far from everyone is capable of supporting initiative, not brushing it aside, and not snubbing initiators.

There can be no democracy or culture of democracy without general culture. The implementation of Lenin's program of cultural revolution led our society to the forefront of world culture and was a precondition for progress in all spheres of life. It was pointed out at the CPSU Central Committee February (1988) Plenum that problems of spiritual culture are arising in a new way in the course of restructuring. By what, most of all, does man live today? By truth and conscience, justice and freedom, morality and humanism. The party is directing efforts toward building up and extending the cultural stratum of restructuring by utilizing and developing the whole spiritual wealth created by our predecessors.

V.I. Lenin attached great significance to questions of the nationalities policy and to strengthening the federation of free nations "without lies and without iron." Socialism has not only ensured equal rights for all nations and peoples in the USSR but also created real conditions for raising and drawing closer together the levels of socioeconomic and cultural development in the national republics. The peoples of the USSR are linked by a common historical destiny. The free development of national cultures is the source of our strength. The kindling of strife and mistrust among the peoples is incompatible with socialist principles and our morality, with the Soviet people's traditions of fraternity. Complex questions of inter-nation relations must be resolved on a democratic basis, within the framework of legality, without the slightest harm to the Soviet peoples' international cohesion.

We are living through a time of growing interest in the past among very broad sections of the population. The people's historical awareness is increasingly being shaped on the principles of historicism and truth. The past is vitally necessary for the present day, for resolving the tasks of restructuring. We want to analyze objectively what was done yesterday and how it was done. What to abandon and what to take with us. Which principles and values should be considered really socialist. The ideas and methodology of Leninism are our compass in this difficult progress along the roads of history.

In studying Lenin today, we must rid ourselves of a widespread defect—the statistical, dogmatic approach to his ideas and works. We must take account of the fact, in particular, that Lenin developed, added to, and elaborated his views and developed himself as a scientist, politician, and statesman.

Valdimir Ilich resolved any task that life set before the party in close connection with the struggle for the fundamental goals of socialism. Restructuring has embodied new ideas, schemes, and achievements and given Soviet people a goal worthy of their historic calling. We are able and are obliged to revive the Leninist practice of the socialist society—a society of justice, democracy, and genuine humanism.

Readers Make Suggestions for Party Conference

WA18000383A Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 3 Apr 88 p 2

[Collection of letters: "From the Mail to the Editor"]

[Text] **On Economic Risk** [subhead]

I think that at the conference, it is necessary to raise the question of economic risk. This is a concept long known to economists in world practice. We, however, all fear it. We fear to introduce unified normativs for a given sector—and suddenly the weak enterprises go bankrupt. And how are we going to organize socialist competition between enterprises, and even sectors? If different normativs are established for different enterprises, then again we return to the earlier leveling. A low normativ is weak, a higher one stronger. Of course, weak enterprises may go bankrupt. A state reserve should be created for initial help for those lagging. And if subsidies from the reserve cannot help, then the enterprise must be assigned other production or handed over to associations (or firms) engaged in similar production work. Perhaps a trustee council of directors could be set up for enterprises operating at a loss.

To the point, the intersector associations of enterprises managed by councils of directors. Extensive use is made of them in world practice, and we again fear the risk, even though this point is covered in the Law on Enterprises.

I suggest that as an experiment, several large enterprises should be removed from ministry subordination. Let them sink or swim on their own in the "economic sea." I am convinced that it would work, and life shows that in the form in which they now exist and operate, we do not need the ministries. In the not too distant future, enterprises should be economically independent and, as Vladimir Ilich Lenin said, as required can be independently amalgamated into self-managing trusts, and also supply-and-marketing syndicates.

Perhaps we could nevertheless take the risk and open up opportunities for market pricing for a short period. Here, of course, strict control is essential, since under conditions of our chronic shortages of certain goods, the speculator could distort the picture. It is, of course, a large risk, but risks were taken in Lenin's time with the New Economic Policy. To make up for this, in a short time the true cost of production taking into account both supply and demand will be clarified....

In short, as I understand it, in economics it is impossible to advance and restructure rapidly without risk. That there will be losses during the course of perestroyka (and there already are) is inevitable. But we do not have the time, and we simply have nowhere to retreat.

(Signed) B. Yegoshin, economist. Leningrad.

The Collective Makes the Promotion [subhead]

During the period of stagnation, double-dyed protectionism flourished. The harm that this did to the party and state and to Soviet people is common knowledge.

The so-called "mossbacked hand" that decides the fate of a person by proceeding from its own "mossbacked" interests prevents people from believing in the possibilities of perestroyka and gives rise to a skeptical attitude toward the real changes today and in the future. It seems to me that in order totally to exclude protectionism from the life of the party and state, a point should be introduced into the CPSU Rules to the effect that promotion

to leading posts should occur only after extensive discussion of the candidate up for promotion by the communists and the entire labor collective where he works and where he is well known. I think that this will also be democracy in action.

(Signed) B. Vidyukov, master at the No 5 Iznozemtsev Agricultural Vocational and Technical School, Zheleznovodsk, Stavropol Kray.

There Is No Need for Duplication[subhead]

From time to time, reports appear on the pages of the central newspapers about reviews of the results of checks conducted on the economic activity of enterprises or entire sectors of the national economy by the CPSU Central Committee Party Control Committee. They offer an analysis of the situation existing at enterprises and in sectors and reveal shortcomings, and information is also presented on the results of checks on measures. At first glance everything seems proper, but the following question arises: but how necessary is it for intervention by the party control organ into purely economic matters, and is this work not duplication of other control organs, as, for example, the USSR People's Control Committee?

We run across this idea in paragraph 39 of the CPSU Rules, which states that the Party Control Committee checks observance of party discipline by CPSU members and candidate members. This does not mean that the competence of the party control organ should be narrow. By using this example from the CPSU Rules, I am merely trying to show the imperfection of the control system existing today.

In my view it is necessary to organize a unified control organ. Whether it should be a more perfect form of the Central Control Commission and Workers' and Peasants' Inspection or some kind of party-state control is evidently for the All-Union Party Conference to determine.

(Signed) A. Zaripov, candidate of technical sciences.

The Authority of the Rural Authorities [subhead]

Before the party conference, we would like to continue the discussion on the authority of the rural authorities. The rural soviets themselves are unable to enhance their prestige themselves by recruiting skilled personnel for work and creating conditions for completing in full the tasks assigned to them.

Consider this. In fact all social programs bypass the lower apparatus of the soviet organs. We are remembered only when targets are not met and violations are revealed at industrial enterprises and in agriculture, trade and consumer services. In the event that they are operating well, we get nothing for our pains. Providing housing and allowances for seniority and skills, and privileges for municipal and everyday services and so forth—we do all this.

The managers subordinate to us come to the meetings of our rural settlement soviets in their Volga's with their personal chauffeurs. In the best case, we combine a modest salary for the duties of driver and metalworker simultaneously. Almost daily, we personally carry reports to the rayon, and while we do this, people and business have to wait for us. The amount of work we do is increasing, but we have no staffs of secretaries and typists; these also have to be combined work. This is the kind of attitude we see toward the organs that are assigned to monitor observance of Soviet laws.

Ignoring Lenin's instruction that the requirement for personnel must be combined with concern for them has had the most baneful consequences for the rural soviets. In particular, the mismatch between the growing volume of work and the numerical strength and skills of the apparatus has in our rayon led to a situation in which over a 2-year period, all the chairmen of the executive committees of the rural settlement soviets and all the rayispolkom deputy chairmen had to be replaced, while the chairman of the rayon council ispolkom himself recently left. There are vacancies in many soviets, and the other workers submit claims that no one hears. Trying to save the situation, we work 12 or 14 hours a day and use up our Saturdays and Sundays; but in vain.

We think that only a radical solution to these problems will enhance the authority of the local soviets and enable them to play an active part in perestroyka. We think that our ideas will be of interest to delegates at the party conference.

(Signed) A. Solopiy, member of the CPSU and chairman of the Mezhdurechenskiy Rural Settlement Soviet Ispolkom; V. Porotikov, member of the CPSU and chairman of the Karoyskiy Rural Settlement Soviet; T. Yakonov, member of the CPSU and chairman of the Kaztsykovskiy Rural Settlement Soviet. Alma-Ata Oblast.

Let Everyone Be Responsible for the Ruble [subhead]

This is now the second year that we, the rural workers, have been working according to final results, and accordingly the entire management apparatus of the kolkhozes and sovkhozes receives a monthly salary of 80 percent of the salary for the post. The remainder is received according to the results for the year. Everyone is vitally interested in fulfilling the plans and making the farm profitable. Everyone except for the freed up party and trade union workers, who when they work on the kolkhozes and sovkhozes receive the full amount of their wages from their own raykoms.

I understand that it is impossible to demand a direct dependence between ideological work and crop yields or milk yields. Nevertheless, whoever is in charge (and it is the party and trade union workers who often also make decisions on economic matters) should have a direct interest in the total results of work.

(Signed) A. Megel, safety equipment engineer, Bretskiy Rayon, Brest Oblast.

An Unnecessary Element [subhead]

During the process of perestroyka in our lives, we face one important task, namely, to reduce the unjustifiably large administrative apparatus, make it less expensive and eliminate the excessive number of tiers in the apparatus.

It is becoming increasingly obvious that in small cities where the population does not exceed 300,000 to 400,000 and where party gorkoms and gorispolkoms function, there is no need at all to retain the raykoms and rayispolkoms, the more so since as a rule these levels do not make decisions on any significant issues. It makes no difference; they have to apply to the city authorities.

As an example, take Syktyvkar, the center of the Komi ASSR. The city is quite small. You can walk from one end to the other in 25 or 30 minutes. Not counting the wood chemistry settlement of Ezhvy (18 kilometers away), which has its own administrative institutions, namely a raykom and a rayispolkom, the population of the city itself is less than 170,000. And so was it necessary in this case to set up another two additional raykoms and rayispolkoms in the city?

Most people living in Syktyvkar think that these are unnecessary elements. This, incidentally, was also the subject of discussion at the recent party obkom plenum.

Some people may object that if the rayon institutions are abolished, the work of the city organizations will increase. But first, it is possible to strengthen considerably (without expanding) the apparatus of the gorkoms and gorispolkoms using the stronger workers from the lower wing. And second—and this is very important—it is finally high time that the members of the party gorkom and all the deputies carry out their own duties more actively, time to do more work. At present many of those elected by the people in the collectives are not even known by sight. They are merely listed as distinguished members of the elected organs.

(Signed) A. Lytkin, member of the CPSU since 1944.

Feature Discusses Prague Party Conference

PM221017 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 8 Apr 88 Second Edition p 3

[Discussion under rubric "Pages of History" involving Doctor of Historical Sciences V.V. Shelokhayev, chief of a sector of the CPSU Central Committee Institute of Marxism-Leninism, and Yu.N. Amiantov and Z.N. Tikhonova, senior scientific workers: "Sixth, Prague Conference"; boldface as published—first three paragraphs are PRAVDA introduction]

[Text] On the threshold of the 19th all-union party conference there is a natural heightening of interest in our party's history and in the key stages of its revolutionary struggle. From this glorious history we derive energy to resolve today's tasks and we draw lessons for the future.

We continue the series of articles on party historical topics prepared jointly with the CPSU Central Committee Institute of Marxism-Leninism, under the editorship of Academician G.L. Smirnov.

Today there is a discussion of the Sixth (Prague) All-Russian Conference of the Russian Social Democratic Workers Party [RSDWP], held in January 1912. Participating in the discussion are Doctor of Historical Sciences V.V. Shelokhayev, chief of a sector of the CPSU Central Committee Institute of Marxism-Leninism, and Yu.N. Amiantov and Z.N. Tikhonova, senior scientific workers.

Difficult Path to the Truth [subhead]

Question: It is well known that the Sixth, Prague Conference played a landmark role in the Leninist party's development and in the history of Bolshevism. In the previous "Page of History" devoted to party conferences (PRAVDA 1 April) we reminded readers that the Sixth, Prague Conference concluded the struggle against hostile trends in the workers movement and restored the Central Committee destroyed by liquidationists....

What has brought about the need to return to it?

Answer: This has been dictated by two circumstances.

First, the Sixth, Prague Conference was convened at a critical moment for the Russian workers movement and our party's history. The conference carried out a radical restructuring of party ranks, formulated the party's political line under conditions of an increasing revolutionary upsurge, and reflected in its decisions the vital need of the entire revolutionary movement in Russia.

And the second circumstance which makes us speak of that conference in greater detail is this. In the past there have been methodological disputes over it in party historical literature and scientific polemics connected with defining the place of the Sixth, Prague Conference

in our party's history. Later, in the interests of Stalin's personality cult, the history of the conference and its role and significance were frankly falsified. The "Short Course," for example, stated that the Sixth, Prague Conference created an independent Bolshevist party, a new type of party—which is in glaring contradiction with Lenin's definition: Bolshevism had existed as a trend of political thought and as a political party since 1903.

It was, quite frankly, a major falsification of the prerevolutionary period of party history to suit Stalin. A precedent was thereby created for further similar falsifications.

Question: Dal's "Explanatory Dictionary" contains what is, perhaps, a somewhat naive but apt definition: History is what was or is, in contrast to a fairytale or fable. Or take Aleksandr Tvardovskiy: "Neither reduce nor increase here—thus it was on earth." As we see, people both reduced and increased, and they struck out "guilty" surnames that displeased someone....

But there are authentic documents, you know....

Answer: It need hardly be demonstrated that it is best to study history from primary sources. That is a truism. It is all the more topical to make a new reading of them today, when the picture of the history of our party and our country is being cleaned of conjunctural accretions.

Now some more details about the shaping of scientific views on the place and significance of the Prague conference. There was no single viewpoint in the twenties. A.S. Bubnov, for example, believed that the conference completed the process of the Bolshevist party's organizational formation. But in the opinion of V.I. Nevskiy it marked the start of the formation of the Bolsheviks' separate party. Ye.M. Yaroslavskiy also wrote at first that in 1912 the Bolsheviks organized themselves as an independent party.

Question: Please specify in which works by the said authors these judgments were expressed. Are they accessible to readers?

Answer: Yes, they were recently opened up for mass readership. They are works by Bubnov—"Chief Moments in the Development of the Communist Party in Russia," Moscow, 1921; by Nevskiy—"History of the Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks). A Brief Outline," Leningrad, 1926; and by Yaroslavskiy—"Brief Outline of the History of the Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks)," Moscow and Leningrad, 1926-1928.

The different viewpoints in the twenties were accounted for by the fact that researchers had not yet formulated a unified methodological approach to determining the place and role of the Second RSDWP Congress and the Sixth, Prague Conference in the history of the Bolshevist Party or managed completely to ascertain their genetic and logical connection. And there is nothing surprising here: A creative scientific quest was under way.

The theses of the Commission for the Study of Party History and the Agitprop Department published in 1928 reflected both assessments of the role of the Sixth Party Conference. It was only in 1933, in the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks) [AUCP(B)] Central Committee Marx-Engels-Lenin Institute theses "Thirty Years of the Bolshevist Party (1903-1933)" and in Ye.M. Yaroslavskiy's book "History of the AUCP(B)," published at the same time, that the most accurate formula was given. This is its essence: The Second RSDWP Congress began the existence of Bolshevism as an independent party, while the Prague conference concluded the entire preceding struggle to purge and strengthen the Bolshevist Party which emerged in 1903.

However, a book on the history of Transcaucasian Bolshevist organizations which frankly falsified facts was published in 1935. That book promoted the idea of the party's "two leaders" and juggled the facts of Stalin's life and activity.

Question: We know that the author of that falsified "history" was L.P. Beriya, who would balk at nothing to please the "leader" and be counted among his retainers.... What was the attitude to this book on the part of participants in the revolutionary struggle?

Answer: It is not hard to imagine their indignation. Incidentally, quite a lot has been written about this. And also about the fact that many revolutionary figures in the Transcaucasus who dared to raise an objection were repressed.

Question: A great man said, not without bitter irony: If the axioms of geometry affected someone's interests, they would undoubtedly be refuted.... History is clearly one of the sciences where interests clash most sharply.

Answer: The historical report "The Sixth (Prague) RSDWP Conference," prepared by the AUCP(B) Central Committee Party Publishing House for its 25th anniversary, maintained that "a separate Bolshevist Party was formed" in 1912 and, most importantly, a fairytale was disseminated about Stalin's supposedly special role in advancing the very idea of convening and preparing the all-Russian party conference and in creating the Russian Organizing Commission [ROC].

Question: While in fact?

Answer: In fact, the task of convening the next all-party conference was set in a resolution of the RSDWP Central Committee January (1910) Plenum and later at the Paris conference of Central Committee members in June 1911. Stalin was not present. It was that conference that took the initiative in convening the all-party conference.

The ROC—and this is borne out by authentic conference materials—was headed by G.K. Ordzhonikidze (Sergo). He, I.I. Shvarts, and B.A. Breslav were plenipotentiaries of the Foreign Organizing Commission [FOC] created at the Paris conference.

On Lenin's instructions G.K. Ordzhonikidze and other FOC plenipotentiaries toured the country's major industrial centers, established contacts, and enlisted the support of the majority of local party organizations. That prepared the ground for creating the ROC, which essentially fulfilled tremendous practical work in preparing the Prague conference under Lenin's leadership.

Question: When was the ROC created, and how?

Answer: In the fall of 1911 in Baku and Tiflis, at a conference of representatives of the FOC and local party organizations. The "Notice" adopted at the conference stated: "The ROC, standing outside factions, appeals to all party organizations, party elements, and figures in legal forms of the workers movement to give all possible assistance to the cause of our party's revival, to choose delegates for the party conference without delay, and to revive social democratic work locally."

Question: The "Notice" speaks not of creating but reviving the party.

Answer: Yes, just so. And I would like to emphasize something else: the appeal "to all party organizations, party elements, and figures in legal forms of the workers movement." Non-Marxist historiography claims that the very course of the preparation and holding of the conference expressed the deliberate policy of Lenin and his supporters of splitting Russian social democracy and realizing the model of a "narrow Bolshevist party of a new type."

The victory of Lenin's political line or, as bourgeois historians more frequently put it, of the "Leninist party model" is regarded by them as "a bid for individual representation of the newly created party" and thus as an extraordinary "provocation" with regard to the participant groups and organizations" directed not only against the liquidationists but also against national organizations. [quotation marks as published] The conference documents convincingly show that this is a deliberate falsification. Truthful illumination of the Prague conference debunks the false concepts of bourgeois historiography and serves the cause of the struggle against opportunism in the interests of strengthening the unity of the international communist movement.

Why "Stir Up History"? [subhead]

Question: Seven and one-half decades have elapsed and we seem to be speaking of times long gone, but in fact all this is topical even now....

Answer: History is an arena of acute ideological struggle—which, I may repeat, is also a truism. Incidentally, far from everyone among us is as yet fully aware of this.

Question: PRAVDA's editorial mail confirms your conclusion. Many readers have actively supported the appearance of the "Pages of History" in the newspaper, while others, on the contrary, reproach us: Why stir up old things? Particularly when we speak of "sore points" and problems associated with the cult of Stalin. Many people—the older generation above all—are concerned that, by exposing the difficulties and contradictions of a stage lived through in the country's history and addressing negative phenomena of the past, we may be blotting out achievements and belittling the heroic struggle of the party and the people.

Answer: The truth—and this has been stated repeatedly in recent years—can neither strike out nor belittle the true assets of our history. They are eroded only by distortion of the truth. And an elucidation of the actual course of events at and around the Prague conference helps us to understand still more fully and clearly Lenin's role in creating the party and to show what harm was done by the subjectivist approach and by looking through the "cult prism."

With the publication in 1938 of the "Short Course," which can be said to have been written according to Stalin's scenario and was edited rigorously by him, precisely the subjectivist approach began to dominate historical literature. The authors of the "Short Course" advanced the thesis that at the Prague conference "the Bolsheviks formed themselves from a political group into the independent Russian Social Democratic Workers Party (Bolsheviks)." Note: "from a political group..." That fundamentally contradicts the Leninist concept. Why was such an "amendment" required by its authors? The answer is obvious: to substantiate the idea of "two leaders" and overemphasize Stalin's special role in creating the Bolshevist party. They were not at all embarrassed that this belittled the significance of the Leninist stage in the development of Marxism and Lenin's role in creating a revolutionary proletarian party of a new type and disparaged the rich experience of Bolshevism. It was, of course, also a question of party figures, including delegates to the Prague conference, who were assiduously "purged" from history by the "Short Course." This was also the purpose of the AUCP(B) Central Committee resolution of 14 November 1938. It emphasized: "Unlike certain old textbooks, which set forth AUCP(B) history, above all, around historical figures and were meant to educate cadres via personalities and their biographies, the 'Short Course' sets forth party history by unfolding the basic ideas of Marxism-Leninism...." Such contrasting of the history of ideas with history expressed in human biographies is unsound from a scientific viewpoint. Particularly as the resolution did not, of course, touch on the figure of Stalin himself or his biography.

Thus, contrary to historical facts, the "Short Course" maintained that the conference elected Stalin to the Central Committee in his absence....

Question: But Stalin really did become a Central Committee member at just that time.

Answer: Yes, only he was not elected at the conference but was co-opted onto the Central Committee at a plenum held at the end of the Sixth, Prague Conference's work. Why was there a need to "retouch" the facts? They already attested to Stalin's role in the party's practical work. However, the authors had their reasons here. By following the truth, it would have been difficult to put him on a par with Lenin. But precisely this was necessary in order to substantiate the assertion current at the time that "Stalin is Lenin today." And to place him practically beyond criticism, including for the grossest violations of the Leninist norms of party life and for arbitrariness toward people.

Like a Fresh Wind [subhead]

Question: It is not at all easy for a nonspecialist to understand the true link between historical facts and even what he himself has lived through. It is even harder for young people, for whom all this is ancient history—what they learn in school or VUZ lessons.

But let us return to the conference itself. We stopped at how the ROC was created....

Answer: Lenin welcomed its creation "after four years of disruption and disorder"—despite incredible police persecution and unprecedented "backheels" by various groups waging a fierce struggle against the Bolsheviks.

The commission members headed by Ordzhonikidze did a great deal to reestablish social democratic organizations locally. Party work livened up. Progressive workers were actively involved in preparing the conference. All this indicated that the proletariat had not been broken by the counterrevolutionary time of troubles and that "the spirit of struggle was alive" in Russia's working class.

M.S. Olminskiy wrote: "A current of fresh air seemed to blow through working Peterburg and stir the swamp of petty liquidationist tasks and of liquidationist adaptation to legality." Let us explain: The liquidationists opposed the preservation of the party's illegal organizations—which would have essentially led to its degeneration. That could not be allowed. And progressive workers realized this. "We believe," one of the resolutions adopted at the workers' meetings in Moscow in September 1911 stated, "that the Bolshevik comrades who are called Leninists will always work as they do now. We workers will always support them."

Together with the liquidationists and the Otzovists (they demanded withdrawal from legal forms of work) Trotskiy also waged a struggle against the party. Under the slogan of unity at any price, on a formal, unprincipled basis, he sought to preserve in the RSDWP's ranks the liquidationist elements who had essentially broken with party-mindedness.

The party was faced with the task of immediately "assembling everything fit for the struggle, everything living, everything that remains loyal to our red social democratic banner." And this was the aim of the Sixth, Prague Conference.

Question: Please explain: When were Lenin's division of the history of Bolshevism into periods and the Prague conference's place and role in this restored in party historical literature?

Answer: It is probably possible, first of all, to name the textbook "CPSU History," first published in 1959. Later this was done more fully and in a well reasoned manner in the multivolume "CPSU History." Let us refer readers to the second volume of that publication. Its authors brought into scientific circulation new documents and materials which made it possible to picture more fully the preparation, the work, and the results of the conference as an all-party forum equal in significance to a party congress. It was possible to do that only after the 20th CPSU Congress, which exposed Stalin's personality cult. And yet individual stereotypes have even now not been overcome, and there are failures to mention a number of conference delegates.

Question: Incidentally, how many delegates participated in its work? Which organizations did they represent?

Answer: The conference was attended by 18 delegates: 14 with a deciding vote and 4 with voice but no vote (V.I. Lenin, L.B. Kamenev, I.A. Pyatnitskiy, and N.A. Semashko). The delegates from Russia represented the Peterburg, Moscow, Saratov, Kazan, Tiflis, Baku, Nikolayev, Kiev, and Yekaterinoslav organizations of the RSDWP, the Dvina and Vilna groups of the RSDWP, and the Central Industrial Oblast. They were P.S. Zalutskiy and Ye.P. Onufriyev, F.I. Goloshchekin and G.Ye. Zinovyev, A.K. Voronskiy, A.I. Dogadov, G.K. Ordzhonikidze and S.S. Spandaryan, L.P. Serebryakov, D.M. Shvartsman, Ya.D. Zevin, M.I. Gurovich, and also A.S. Romanov and R.V. Malinovskiy, who turned out to be provocateurs. Sixteen delegates were representatives of the Bolsheviks, while two—Zevin and Shvartsman—were from the Menshevik Party members. The majority of the conference participants were young revolutionaries aged between 24 and 30.

Headed by Lenin [subhead]

Question: How do the conference documents characterize Vladimir Ilich Lenin's role at the conference?

Answer: The minutes of the Sixth, Prague Conference, delegates' memoirs, and other sources show that Lenin, who was there representing the party's central organ—

the newspaper SOTSIAL-DEMOKRAT—was conference chairman and delivered the main reports there, including "On the Political Situation and the Party's Tasks," "On the Work of the International Socialist Bureau," and "On RABOCHAYA GAZETA." Today we know of approximately 10 Lenin speeches at the conference on other items on the agenda in addition to the aforementioned, as well as more than 30 chairman's rejoinders and brief remarks on delegates' speeches. Of the 23 resolutions 5 were written entirely by Lenin, while he made substantial changes of meaning to another 5 drafts. We also know that precisely Vladimir Ilich asked Antonin Nemec, the Czech social democratic representative on the International Socialist Bureau, to hold the conference in Prague and give appropriate assistance in organizing it. "What is most important for us," he wrote, "is the possibility of organizing things most clandestinely. No one, no organization must know about this."

"Vladimir Ilich had thought out all the details of organizing the conference with the greatest care," N.A. Semashko recalled. "He was plainly anxious, for the success of the party's consolidation depended on the success of the conference." Lenin met with the arriving delegates in the Belveder Hotel and later in the People's House of the Czech Social Democratic Party, where a conference was held in one of the small rooms of the PRAVO LIDU editorial board. When its participants moved into the apartments of Czech workers, Vladimir Ilich took up residence together with worker Ye.P. Onufriyev, delegate for the Peterburg organization.

Lenin was interested in everything: party business, work, earnings, the family, workers' sentiments. He familiarized the delegates with the theses of his conference speeches on the main items on the agenda. "We listened," Onufriyev recalled, "and it seemed to us as though Lenin had traveled all over Russia and visited plants and peasant cottages—so profoundly and truthfully did he reflect the people's innermost needs and aspirations."

The conference participants' memoirs and the minutes have brought down to us the delegates' living features and visible appearance. They include Sergo Ordzhonikidze. He was proud to have performed great work in preparing the conference and merited Lenin's approval. The Peterburg workers—the thin, very modest Onufriyev and the enthusiastic Zalutskiy—delivered detailed reports in Prague on the activity of the Peterburg RSDWP organization during the years of reaction. The cool, composed worker-fitter Serebryakov, who managed in a short time to restore the party organization in Nikolayev and attract into it old workers, party members, and participants in the 1905 revolution. The rather cunning, diplomatic, but not zestless worker Dogadov, secretary of the metalworkers' trade union in Kazan. The young, ardent, very likable poet Voronskiy, who become a prominent journalist and literary critic during the years of Soviet power. Suren Spandaryan, racked with consumption but vehement in argument, and already a well-known journalist at the time. Firm, true Bolsheviks. "Hitherto scattered and disunited," Voronskiy wrote in his memoirs, "we came together for the first time in 5 or 6 years and saw for ourselves that, despite all the obstacles, despite the executions, hard labor, prisons, and exile, common work that was dear to everyone was still being done everywhere."

Menshevik Party members also attended the conference. In the early sixties one of us met and talked with former print worker D. Shvartsman. Asked what had kept him for a long time in the Menshevik camp, he replied: G.V. Plekhanov's authority. However, that did not prevent him going along with the Bolsheviks on all the main questions at the Prague conference. The other Menshevik Party member, Ya. Zevin, actively championed the line of Plekhanov, who denied the all-party nature of the conference. But, despite mistakes and vacillation, Zevin remained deeply devoted to the revolution: Now in the Bolsheviks' ranks, he was one of the 26 Baku commissars who died in 1918.

The conference atmosphere and the young delegates themselves, who had come to Prague from revolutionary Russia, pleased V.I. Lenin. "It is not hard for anyone who knew Ilich even slightly," G. Zinovyev wrote, "to imagine how he had to display himself in such an atmosphere and cheer people, what rhythm and scope he had to impart to the work, how he had to infect (and did infect) everyone with his passionate and, at the same time, profound attitude to the matter, and how much personal cordiality and, at the same time, strict party-mindedness he introduced into relations with each of the delegates. This was the background against which Ilich could not fail to display all his particularly rich aspects. Against the background of this young 'brood' of Bolsheviks Ilich himself somehow grew younger. You could sense that in Prague he was, as it were, shedding from his shoulders all the burdens of the past counterrevolutionary 5-year period. Ilich was all vim and vigor. The majority of the delegates had brought from Russia boundless trust in and love for Ilich. And Ilich quickly won the trust and love of the rest at the conference itself....

"I remember how Vladimir Ilich listened attentively to the reports from the provinces, 'fastening on' to each delegate and 'drawing out' of him everything in his soul. Ilich himself made numerous remarks during those reports and, I remember, he himself wrote the resolution on this point during those reports."

Question: Have these memoirs been published?

Answer: No, they have not, although, as you can judge, they add quite significant details to the description of the conference atmosphere. It is clear why they were not published during the times of the cult. But the opinion still exists, you know, that to name people who participated in a particular event but subsequently committed mistakes is to vindicate those mistakes. And so people

prefer to keep quiet about them. Let us recall that during the thirties eight conference delegates essentially fell victims to Stalin's arbitrary rule—Zinovyev, Kamenev, Serebryakov, Dogadov, Zalutskiy, Goloshchekin, Voronskiy, and Pyatnitskiy. We also know of Ordzhonikidze's tragic fate.... It is, in our view, the direct duty of historians to restore the course of events in full, without gaps and deletions.

What the Secret Police Failed In [subhead]

Question: Among the participants in the Sixth, Prague Conference Romanov and Malinovskiy were subsequently exposed as provocateurs.

Answer: Well, as the saying goes, you cannot remove words from a song. This regrettable fact must also be commented on. Particularly as bourgeois historians zealously speculate on it and exaggerate the problem of "provocateurs in the party," claiming that the conference was largely made possible thanks to "the patronage of the tsarist secret police."

Clearly, these absurd fabrications have nothing to do with reality. If we can say something in connection with the participation of provocateurs in the conference, we can, of course, speak of the very difficult conditions under which the party had to wage the struggle: It was very cruelly persecuted by the tsarist secret police, which tried its hardest to undermine revolutionary organizations. The intention of the secret police was not only to expose and arrest the most active party workers but also to spread spy mania and suspicion, increase the isolation of party organizations, and detach them from the masses.

The Bolsheviks and other revolutionary parties took all possible measures, including collective and joint measures, to expose provocateurs. The Bolsheviks, for example, succeeded to a considerable degree in rendering harmless such major provocateurs as Zhitomirskiy, Bryandinskiy, and Chernomazov, while the Socialist-Revolutionaries exposed Azef. But they failed to protect the party from R. Malinovskiy. Possessing the gift of eloquence, being quick on the uptake in practical matters, and having energy, he had become a significant figure in Russia's trade union movement in 1910. The secret police, whose agent he was, was preparing him for a big game. Unfortunately, it largely succeeded in this. At the Prague conference Malinovskiy was elected a member of the RSDWP Central Committee, and he later became the Bolsheviks' deputy in the Fourth State Duma. He caused tremendous harm to the party. Thus, all the Prague conference delegates who went back to Russia were arrested on information from him.

"If he did not cause still greater harm," V.I. Lenin later emphasized, "it was because we had correctly organized the ratio of legal and illegal work.... While sending dozens and dozens of Bolshevism's best figures to hard labor and death with one hand, Malinovskiy had with the other hand to help educate tens and tens of thousands of new Bolsheviks through the legal press." In his deposition to the provisional government's commission in 1917 Vladimir Ilich explained: "Malinovskiy became a link in the long, strong chain linking (and from different sides, moreover) our illegal base with the the two major organs of the party's influence **on the masses**, namely PRAVDA and the social democratic faction in the Duma. The provocateur had to protect both those organs in order to justify himself before us."

This is how the matter really stood. Let us add: In 1914, fearing exposure, the secret police had instructed Malinovskiy to voluntarily relinquish his functions as a deputy and leave the Duma. A party court (Chairman Ya.S. Ganetskiy, members V.I. Lenin and G.Ye. Zinovyev) in Poronin expelled him from the party for refusing to fulfill party duties and for straightforward desertion. Suspicions that Malinovskiy was a provocateur were also checked, but there was insufficient evidence at the time, and World War I, which began soon after, prevented additional witness depositions from being obtained. Malinovskiy was mobilized to the front, and the news of his death appeared in newspapers. However, the news was false. Only after the February 1917 revolution was he completely exposed as an agent of the secret police department. In the fall of 1918 Malinovskiy returned to Petrograd and, after being sentenced by the All-Russian Central Executive Committee Supreme Tribunal, was shot.

Infiltration by provocateurs could in no way influence the elaboration of the Sixth, Prague Conference's decisions—the secret police was powerless there. Lenin's ideas and genius directed the course of the conference.

In Acute Discussions [subhead]

Question: What else do we find by turning to the documents of the Prague conference?

Answer: In its minutes there are many vivid details which paint a living picture of the revolutionary struggle and reveal the principles of the party's organization and work.

Here is a characteristic example. While voicing principled condemnation of liquidationism and the reconciliationist, disorganizing factional line of Trotskiy, some delegates still underestimated the real danger of opportunism and reconciliationism and considered this to be chiefly an emigre phenomenon, and the polemics of Lenin and the Bolshevist press to be excessively sharp. "Squabbling," "troublemaking articles"—these rebukes were addressed not only to publications of the Mensheviks and Trotskiy but also to the RSDWP's central organ—the newspaper SOTSIAL-DEMOKRAT. V.I. Lenin repeatedly took the floor to explain the state of affairs and indicate the main reasons for the intensification of the ideological and political struggle in the party. "Local organizations," he said, replying to Menshevik

party members, "have been hindered by the factional struggle. Viktor (Shvartsman—editor's note) proposes an amendment condemning the struggle among groups. But the groups' struggle must not be condemned. This is party life. It is necessary to wipe out squabbling and condemn factionalism and unprincipled struggle, too, but condemning the groups' struggle means condemning now and previously our struggle against liquidationism. You are introducing confusion into the minds of workers during the period of struggle."

Or take this extract from Vladimir Ilich's speech: "...We have argued, we have exposed reconciliationists. My article about them has been pointed to as an example of troublemaking articles. Fine. But, comrades, my stern critics, permit me to ask you a question. What kind of man is Trotskiy, the reconciliationists' head? Under the party flag, under the guise of illegal party literature, on the quiet, this man smuggled liquidationism among the Russian workers. This had to be exposed. It was also necessary to point to those who willy-nilly play into Trotskiy's hands. Mention has been made of my article about Rozhkov (N.A. Rozhkov was one of the leaders of liquidationism—editor's note). It was there that there could not (be) and was no squabbling abroad. Our disagreement with Rozhkov was fundamental. This disagreement was preceded by lengthy correspondence. You say: Circles, squabbling among circles. Yes, circles. It is necessary to struggle against them, and not go away, shaking off the dust. A struggle is now being waged to the death, and there is nothing to whine or complain about here. I repeat, complaints about squabbles and polemical squabbling are understandable and appropriate only in the mouth of a socialist of feeling and sentiment. We have two parties—this is a fact. Their existence stems from the sum total of Russian reality."

You will agree that Lenin's energy of thought and his ability to convince can be felt even in the minutes—and these were taken down by the delegates themselves in turn.

And another fragment from the discussion on the urgent restructuring of party organizations and the combination of legal and illegal forms of work. There was no special report on the organizational question, and the debate, which was of a lively nature, began at once at Lenin's suggestion. The delegates voiced general dissatisfaction with the state of illegal work and, in particular, with the old circle form of work and reflected on how to rectify the situation. Lenin emphasized that in the period of the new revolutionary upsurge the party must find new forms of influencing the masses: Create a mass worker press (this idea was associated with the creation of PRAVDA) and turn small legal worker societies into organizations able to take on some of the party work. According to Lenin's scheme, it was necessary to create in every legal organization small social democratic cells connected with the party's underground activity. "These illegal cells, surrounded by a network of legal cells, will give us a new base. All relations are reduced to the minimum, as though there is and is not an organization. Let there be no meetings. Party work has taken on a different form. The new form has already forced its way into the old one."

Not all the delegates at once agreed with Lenin's ideas. Some believed that the legal societies had exhausted themselves. A heated discussion ensued. F. Goloshchekin (Boris): "I do not know what to call this ideal picture which Lenin has painted, but he did not invent it. I could cite many facts.... I think that Lenin's proposal—a small cell leads, surrounded by a network of legal cells—is acceptable." S. Spandaryan: "There have been changes since 1905. We must now say how to link legal and illegal organizations and how to utilize legal opportunities. The time of the old propaganda circles, to which boy- and girl-students with a knowledge of Marx' biography came, is over.... We must set up an illegal center in every city. It must direct the economic and political struggle."

The conference decisions were of tremendous significance for reviving the party, organizationally strengthening it, and mobilizing the masses to struggle for the overthrow of tsarist autocracy. The Sixth, Prague Conference elected the party's new Central Committee.

Before New Tests [subhead]

Question: Please say, in conclusion, how the party's Central Committee was elected.

Answer: First, a fragment from Voronskiy's memoirs on Lenin's conversation with delegates on this subject: "At all costs and without delay," he said, "we must now create a Bolshevist, totally competent Central Committee strongly connected with local groups and organizations. The organizational disorder must be ended. We are on the eve of a new revolutionary upsurge. Without a strong center we cannot and will not master the movement. This is the chief feature of the moment."

Preserved in the conference materials are the "Proposals on the Procedure for Electing the Central Committee and Co-opting Central Committee Members," submitted by Ordzhonikidze, Spandaryan, and Voronskiy: 1) A Central Committee of seven members is to be elected at this time; 2) the right to co-opt is granted by a simple majority with no limit on the numbers co-opted; 3) the Central Committee is elected by secret ballot. And so the election was held. The delegates passed to V.I. Lenin notes indicating only the party pseudonyms of the proposed candidates, under which they all participated in the conference. Eleven such notes have been preserved, but 13 delegates with a deciding vote participated in the ballot (Zevin refused to participate). Lenin and Zinovyev were elected unanimously; Spandaryan, Ordzhonikidze, Shvartsman, and Malinovskiy received 12 votes each; and Goloshchekin and Voronskiy received 5 votes each. On the results of a second ballot Goloshchekin was included in the Central Committee. The strictest secrecy

was observed in the election: Those elected to the Central Committee were notified confidentially by Lenin and Ordzhonikidze, each one separately.

Question: Why was the Central Committee granted the right to co-opt new members?

Answer: Primarily because the majority of the Central Committee members, apart from Lenin and Zinovyev who remained abroad and made up the Central Committee's Foreign Bureau, traveled back to Russia. They comprised the Russian Bureau for the practical leadership of the party's local organizations. The possibility of their being arrested dictated the need to grant the Central Committee the right to co-opt. The new Central Committee held two sessions even during the conference. At the first of them both I.V. Stalin, who was then in exile, and I.S. Belostotskiy, former worker at the Putilov Plant in Petersburg, party member since 1904, and student of the party school at Longjumeau, were incorporated. Candidacies for co-optation were outlined—in case the elected Central Committee members were arrested: A.S. Bubnov, member of an oblast bureau of the Central Industrial Region, and RSDWP Moscow Organization members A.P. Smirnov and M.I. Kalinin, Ye.D. Stasova and S.G. Shaumyan. True, owing to the circumstances which took shape, none of them was subsequently co-opted. Ya.M. Sverdlov and G.I. Petrovskiy joined the Central Committee in December 1912.

...The Prague conference ended 17 (30) January 1912. Behind it lay 23 sessions and 12 days of acute discussions and strenuous work.

After the conference there was a farewell evening with lively conversations round a modest but nonetheless festive table. The Czech comrades who had done a great deal to organize the Sixth, Prague Conference spoke. Vladimir Ilich thanked them warmly. He was moved, and did not hide the fact.

The party prepared for a new, hard struggle. There were still years to go until February 1917 and the October victory. But the policy elaborated by the Prague conference of overthrowing czarism and carrying out a democratic coup received the support of the working class. The slogans advanced by the Bolsheviks' party, Lenin later pointed out, soon became the political slogans of all Russian democracy and the rising people's revolution.

Economic

Aganbegyan: Changes Promoting Dogged Resistance

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[Gianni Corbi dispatch: "'Comrades, Now Get Rich'"

[Excerpts] Moscow—How is the "radical reform" proceeding? I put this question to Abel Aganbegyan, Mikhail Gorbachev's heeded adviser and the most authoritative and powerful Soviet economist. For years, from his Siberian stronghold at Akademgorodok, Aganbegyan was standard bearer of the mathematical economists, advocates of a system of automatic and objective options in which "society's entire production activity would be organized like a huge factory guided by an optimal plan."

Now, however, Aganbegyan has changed many of his ideas about the magical benefits of mathematical models and centralized planning. Now he is standard bearer of the reformist planners and Gorbachev's adviser and is involved in a race against time to ensure that the "radical reform" does not meet the same fate as other radical reforms proposed since Khrushchev's time that sank ignominiously. Exactly 3 years have passed since April 1985, when the Gorbachev reign began and the reform was introduced. What has been achieved? How are things going?

"No, things are not going well," was Aganbegyan's definite but by no means disconsolate reply. "We did not expect so many difficulties. The changes are promoting dogged resistance much stronger than we could have forecast. The crucial factor is that we are at a turning point, in the midst of a difficult transition. However, we can see signs of an improvement. The stagnant waters of the economy are beginning to ripple. For the first time the indicators are improving in construction, in the food sector, and in machine tools. There are sectors suffering from overstaffing that need to be thinned out and others (especially service sectors) where staffing needs to be increased. As we never tire of repeating, it will not be a painless process.

"Many unproductive enterprises will have to be closed down. Their workforces will receive a 90-day salary and will then have to transfer to where they are more needed. Why should this cause any surprise, moreover? This is already being done in Poland, China, and Hungary. Of course there will be leaders who are unable or unwilling to adapt to the new style of management. Many people will not like taking risks, as the reform will necessitate. For this very reason they will have to be replaced.

"This is an accurate picture of the situation," Aganbegyan added; "the scenario facing us is serious and complex enough to prompt us to repeat the slogan "no turning back." We must therefore move forward. There are various ways of doing this: We can walk, run, or jog. We really cannot stand still, however." Like certain surgeons confronted with a dangerously ill patient, the economists of restructuring have decided not to conceal the seriousness of the illness.

There is no end to the problems. Economist Margarita Maksimova pointed out, for instance, that 13 percent of enterprises are obsolete and by now commercially entirely inviable but that many more (40 percent) somehow manage to balance their accounts, but only by disregarding depreciation and renewal of equipment. More or less as in the fifties and sixties, everyone

believes it is possible to achieve plan targets even though the sole result is the production of poor quality and unsalable goods. The result of this crazy policy is the accumulation in warehouses of vast stocks of unused raw materials and unusable materials worth approximately R460 billion—$700 billion, at the official exchange rate.

Gorbachev is in a hurry. Ordinary people, however, skeptical and restless, are struggling with constantly worsening food shortages. They take issue with the government over the unobtainability of tea and coffee, services similar to those of underdeveloped countries, and creeping inflation. Citizens are bewildered by the rapid changes.

The latest shock in this race to restructure the economy are the new laws on cooperation and banking. They are major novelties. If implemented—though many doubt it—the entire system of services, distribution, and credit could be revolutionized. The very complex decree on cooperation permits members—or consortiums of cooperatives—to open stores, to export and import, to establish joint ventures, to issue shares, and to deposit valuable currency. In banking, an end to the absolute monopoly of the USSR state bank, Gosbank, is envisaged. The existing two banks will be replaced by six: Gosbank; the foreign economic activity bank; the industrial construction bank; the agro-industrial bank; the municipal enterprises, social development, housing, and services bank; and the savings and credit bank.

To discover what will happen—if it happens—once these "revolutionary" laws have been promulgated, I visited an important Soviet banker, Yakov Dubinevskiy, first deputy chairman of the very powerful Promstroybank (formerly the Stroybank), which specializes in financing enterprises and has 2,000 branches throughout the country. Is it true, as economist Shmelev claims, that vast amounts of money are lying unused—R260 billion in the banks, plus a further R240 billion hidden under mattresses?

"It is true, more or less. We are faced with a perverse twofold mechanism. On the one hand there is a mass of money not used for productive purposes, while on the other there is the excessively easy credit policy toward inviable enterprises that have accumulated huge unrecoverable debts. All this will change from now on. With the Law on Industrial Enterprises we will grant loans only to those able to repay them. In all other cases we will close the easy credit faucet. Of course, it will not be easy to condemn to bankruptcy so many enterprises accustomed to a highly permissive policy. There is no other way, however." [passage omitted]

"First," Roy Medvedev told me, "it is not true at all that there is 'no turning back' and that 'there are no paths of retreat.' The struggle is unresolved. This is apparent from many indications. It is enough for Gorbachev to leave Moscow for someone to take advantage of the fact. This is the early dawn of a laborious process of democratization. Of course in the cultural field—especially journalism—restructuring is reflecting all its beneficial effects. However, there is food for thought in the fact that magazine editors are asking our most famous authors to submit their work quickly so that it can be published as soon as possible. It can be done now, but what about tomorrow?"

Economic restructuring, Medvedev added, cannot be carried out as quickly as our economists would like. They say—perhaps rightly—that the subsidized bread, milk, and meat prices must be increased, but who will have the courage to do so? I—together with 280 million other Soviets—pay little for my rent, electricity, telephone, and heating. Economists maintain that this is absurd and again perhaps they are right. However, this kind of socialism is 60 years old and three generations of Soviet citizens have grown up with it. Restructuring will take a long time, perhaps a very long time. [passage omitted]

Expert Contrasts Armenia, Azerbaijan Development

WA182000106 Baku BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY in Russian 11 Mar 88 pp 2-3

[AZERINFORM item, under rubric "The Economy of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast, Azerbaijan SSR": "Problems and Prospects: Meeting With Academician T.S. Khachaturov at the Institute of the Administration of the National Economy, attached to AzSSR Council of Ministers"—boldface as published]

[Text] **The Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO], Azerbaijan SSR, was formed on 7 July 1923. Leninist principles of national-state building formed for the basis of the decision concerning autonomy.**

The path that has been traveled by the autonomous oblast has confirmed the viability and rightfulness of those principles and currently serves as a brilliant example of the implementation of the tremendous advantages of the socialist social system and the monolithic friendship of the peoples in our multinational state. Nagorno-Karabakh, which previously was a backward border district in prerevolutionary Azerbaijan, with a primitive industry relying on small-scale handicraftsmen and with a peasant economy that was halfway based on payment in kind, has been converted into one of the republic's highly developed regions, with a modern industry, advanced agriculture, and a modern social infrastructure.

At the same time it must be admitted that, properly speaking, the oblast, like the republic as a whole, has a large number of problems and difficulties. The situation that has developed in NKAO has been given a well-principled evaluation by the CPSU Central Commission, in CPSU Central Committee General Chairman Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's Message to the Workers and to the Peoples of Azerbaijan and Armenia. At a conference that was held on 9 March at the CPSU Central Committee, the Central Committees of the Communist Party of

Azerbaijan and of Armenia were advised to develop a series of long-term measures to improve the international education of the workers and to resolve in a coordinated manner the urgent questions pertaining to the socioeconomic, everyday, scientific, cultural, linguistic, and other aspects of the interrelationships of those republics on the basis of Leninist principles of internationalism. At the present time the special attention of the party agencies of Azerbaijan, the economic administrators, and scientists and specialists has been directed toward the resolution of the problems that have accumulated in the oblast.

At the Institute of the Administration of the National Economy, attached to AzSSR Council of Ministers, there was an exchange of opinions by workers at planning agencies and scientists on the problems of accelerating the development of the production forces of Azerbaijan's autonomous oblast. The materials pertaining to that meeting are printed below.

Z. Samed-Zade, head of the Economic Department, Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee, corresponding-member of AzSSR Academy of Sciences: Comrades, it is well known to all of us that, in the course of socialist creation, our country was converted into a mighty industrial power with a tremendous economic and scientific-technical potential. In our multinational state, in all our republics, the equality of nations and nationalities has been confirmed.

At the present time, a single national-economic complex has formed in the USSR. All the republics, including Azerbaijan SSR, have been making their contribution to its development. It must be noted that much has been in the republic to equalize the levels of development of all the economic regions. Purposeful work is being carried out to improve the territorial organization of the productive forces and to achieve the comprehensive development and specialization of the economies in the individual regions, and this has considerably changed their socioeconomic appearance. What has been stated can also be confirmed by citing the example of Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast, Azerbaijan SSR. At the same time, one also observes here a large number of unresolved problems, the discussion of which will help to establish the directions that we should take in our joint work. We have invited as a participant in our discussion the well-known Soviet economist and USSR Academy of Sciences academician Tigran Sergeyevich Khachaturov, whose works have made a major contribution to economic science.

T. Khachaturov, USSR Academy of Sciences academician, chairman of the scientific council to deal with the problem "Economic Effectiveness of Fixed Assets, Capital Investments, and New Technology": I would like to add a few words to this. We are all in favor of perestroyka and of assuring that what has been planned by the 27th CPSU Congress will be carried out as soon as possible. But this task is no simple one. Therefore today, as we discuss the questions of the economic and social development of Nagorno-Karabakh, we must make a sharp differentiation between the questions pertaining to the more distant prospect and those that must be resolved immediately.

A. Gadzhiyev, deputy chairman, AzSSR Gosplan: That comment is completely justified. As everyone knows, one of the most important indicators of economic and social progress is the dynamic development of industry, the improvement of the branch and territorial proportions. It must be said that rather good results have been achieved. During recent 5-year plans the industrial growth rates in a majority of the regions have been considerably higher than those for the industry of Baku and the republic as a whole. Those regions include NKAO.

S. Guseynov, senior scientific associate, Institute of Economics, AzSSR Academy of Sciences, candidate of economic sciences: For example, during the past 16 years, for growth rates of industrial production, our oblast has surpassed the republic level (respectively, by a factor of 3.23 and 3.0)...

T. Khachaturov: When we mention rates, we must consider from what we are proceeding. I have in mind that growth can be guaranteed if one proceeds from a low initial level.

M. Mamedov, department chief, AzSSR Gosplan: Definitely. Therefore it is necessary to take into consideration both the initial base and the industrial structure. In this aspect also, the dynamism in the development of the oblast's economy has been increasing its rates.

A. Guseynov, department head, NII [Scientific-Research Institute] of Economics, AzSSR Gosplan, candidate of economic sciences: Our institute, in close contact with the ministries and departments, is engaged in working out the problems of the development of the republic's regions, including those of NKAO. Analysis shows that a multibranch industrial structure has been created in the oblast. That structure is represented by such important branches as the electrical-engineering branch, radio machine-building, the wood-processing branch, the building-materials industry, light industry, food industry, etc. It is noteworthy that the production growth has been accompanied by progressive structural changes both on the level of the branch complexes, and especially within each of them.

A. Gadzhiyev: A number of machine-building enterprises have been created here. The share of that branch is approximately 12 percent of the region's industrial output. **But it must be stated outright that the created capacities are not being used completely, and there has been an unjustified dragging out of the process of expanding and technically re-equipping the enterprises. It will be necessary for us, jointly with the union agencies, to**

guarantee the further improvement of the entire job of developing machine building and to show more persistence in resolving the long-range questions.

T. Khachaturov: The question that has been correctly raised here is the question of assuring the development of those branches of the national economy that require the workers to have a high level of proficiency. The structure itself for the development of the oblast must be such that will encourage scientific-technical progress.

S. Guseynov: It must be said that regarding the production of industrial output per-capita of population—more than 1400 rubles—NKAO has a leading place among the economic regions of ASSR (not including the industry of Baku).

Question: Why are you isolating the industry in the city of Baku?

S. Guseynov: That's a good question. The fact of the matter is that Baku, under the influence of a number of objective factors, historically developed as a chiefly industrial center. More than half the republic's production apparatus is concentrated there, and this is linked to a greater extent with the traditionally leading branch of industry in the republic—the fuel branch. The overwhelming part of capital investments has been channeled into this assets-intensive branch. Under these conditions it would not be proper to compare Baku with the other regions, in whose structure a large percentage is represented by the branches in the APK [agro-industrial complex], and particularly with NKAO.

Question: Apparently, then, this kind of specialization largely predetermines the amount of capital investments per-capita of population. Is that correct?

Z. Samed-Zade: Yes, definitely. I would like to emphasize that **the comparison of various regions regarding the indicators of the capital investments per-capita of population or the capital-labor ratio, without a consideration of specialization or the structure of economy in the scientific and methodological regard, is not completely proper.** Of course, the structure of the economy of each region is under the influence of various factors. I have in mind the availability of mineral and raw-material resources and of labor resources, the transportation conditions, the economic ties that had formed, etc.

It would be more proper to compare among the regions the indicators of specific capital investments in the nonproduction sphere.

L. Davidyan, deputy head of the Department of Construction and Urban Management, Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee: During recent 5-year plans, regarding the activation of housing, preschool institutions, and public-health facilities, the indicators for the specific capital investments for the autonomous oblast were considerably higher than the average for the republic and for its other regions.

D. Avetisov, AzSSR deputy minister of light industry: Today NKAO is the republic's second center for silk production. Its share is two-thirds of the output of the oblast's light industry and approximately 25 percent of the republic's silk industry. It is largely thanks to the development of this branch that a working class has formed here, structures in the social infrastructure have been created, very stable economic ties have been formed, etc. **At the same time, it must be admitted that the Karabakh Silk Combine does have unresolved questions. One group of problems is linked with the renovation of the equipment and primarily with the technical re-equipping of cocoon-winding production. True, this question is an acute one that faces other enterprises in the republic's silk industry. But, despite the efforts of the republic agencies, it has remained unresolved for a long period of time.**

T. Khachaturov: What is the reason for that?

D. Avetisov: The chief reason is the limited availability of currency at the disposal of the union ministry for making purchases in foreign countries of highly productive automatic cocoon-winding machinery. At the present time this question is being worked out once again with the union agencies.

T. Khachaturov: I would like to direct attention here to the fact that questions of technical re-equipping should be resolved in a comprehensive manner, because the question of the shortage of skilled personnel is an acute one...

D. Avetisov: Yes, and it is a problem that is truly serious for the combine.

Other problems that have been awaiting their resolution are those in the oblast's shoe industry, which currently produces one-fifth of the footwear produced in the republic. These questions involve the variety of output, the quality, and production efficiency.

In a word, it will be necessary for us, jointly with the local agencies in the oblast, to work out additional measures to guarantee the stable development of light industry.

A. Makhmud-Zade, department chief, AzSSR Gosplan: At the present time the dominant subbranches in food industry are those that have been called upon to guarantee the direct satisfaction of the needs of the population in the oblast and in other adjacent regions: the dairy, meat, bread, confectionery, and other subbranches. The dairy combine has in operation the republic's only shop that is based on imported equipment to process dry whey. At the present time, from the point of view of the level of production of the most important types of food output per-capita of population, NKAO occupies one of

the first places among the economic regions of Azerbaijan SSR. But all the reserves have not yet been activated. As in a number of other regions in the republic, one observes the dragging out of the process of respecializing the enterprises in the winemaking industry. Other questions that have been awaiting their resolution are those pertaining to expanding the variety and improving the quality of the output produced by the dairy and meat combines, and to creating a number of enterprises to satisfy the needs of the local population.

T. Khachaturov: It is necessary to use all the opportunities for increasing the per capita consumption of food products and to take steps to eliminate the lag in this matter.

F. Faradzhev, deputy chairman, AzSSR Gosplan: The question is of great importance for Azerbaijan as a whole. Therefore, the republic has stipulated the accelerated development of the branches that produce food products, and especially animal husbandry.

N. Pogosov, senior scientific associate, AzNII [Azerbaijan Scientific-Research Institute] of the Economics and Organization of Agriculture, candidate of economic sciences: Of course, it is necessary first of all to build up the developmental rates of the branches in the agro-industrial complex of NKAO. At present the oblast is one of our republic's important agricultural regions. The oblast's current share is 3.2 percent of the agricultural output produced in the republic. On the whole, the indicators of effectiveness are rather good here. There has been an increase in the efficiency of managing vegetable and animal husbandry and a consistent reinforcement of the material-technical base in the agro-industrial complex.

The agriculture of NKAO is mostly based on unirrigated vegetable husbandry. Of the total amount of area suitable for agricultural purposes, only slightly more than one-tenth is irrigated.

T. Khachaturov: How do you explain such a low indicator?

B. Budagov, acting director, AzSSR Institute of Geography, AzSSR Academy of Sciences academician: The opportunities for irrigated vegetable husbandry under mountainous conditions, under the conditions of complicated relief, are extremely limited. This situation prevails in all mountainous territories. At the same time, there do exist rather large opportunities for expanding the scope of irrigated vegetable husbandry, and they must be used.

N. Pogosov: All the farms in the oblast have not completely activated the reserves for the further buildup in the volumes of production of agricultural output. Over the past two years, farms have failed to fulfill the plans for gross production of grain, potatoes, and melon crops. A rather large number of reserves also exist in animal husbandry. The level of profitability of production is still low. In a word, there still are a rather large number of bottlenecks in agriculture. Of course, it is necessary to carry out a special study of the questions of improving the technical support of the kolkhozes and sovkhozes, of eliminating the existing differences in the level of development of their material-technical base. Here too specific assistance on the part of USSR Gosagroprom and AzSSR Gosagroprom is needed.

T. Khachaturov: It will be necessary to do a lot more to expand the scope of water-management production. By this we mean the improvement of the rate of providing water to agriculture, the construction of structures involving a small degree of irrigation, the redesigning of irrigation canals, etc.

A. Ayriyan, AzSSR minister of timber and wood-processing industry: I would also like to say a few words about our branch. It is represented by a large-scale furniture factory with a high technical level, that has been provided with new highly-productive equipment that has been produced in our own country and that has been imported. During the past 17 years, the capacity has almost quintupled.

T. Khachaturov: Is the output accessible to the population in the oblast? And how are you provided with resources?

A. Ayriyan: Obviously, it is accessible. But the fact of the matter is that its capacities considerably exceed the needs of NKAO. The output produced by the Stepanakert Furniture Factory is shipped not only to various rayons in the republic, but also outside the confines of the republic. However, I am far from asserting that there are no problems here.

One situation that leaves much to be desired is the supplying of raw and other materials with the proper quality. There is a need for additional technological equipment and woodworking tools. At the present time we are working jointly with the factory management to take specific steps dealing with these problems. Some of them have already been resolved, and the rest of them are being strictly monitored.

As for raw materials, in view of the republic's extreme limitation regarding timber resources, we obtain them from other parts of the country. We resolve the problems of their complete processing in a parallel manner on the spot.

M. Imanov, chief of the Main Production Administration for Energy Production and the Electrification of Azerbaijan SSR, Azglavenergo: A large amount of the territory in the oblast is mountainous. This puts special requirements on the development of the oblast's energy management. During the past three 5-year plans alone, approximately 1300 kilometers of high-voltage electric-transmission lines have been set up here. This is the only

region in the republic that has trilateral electrical supply, which guarantees its higher reliability. To support the construction of structures in the electrical-network management and to render repair services, a number of special subdivisions have been organized. These include, in particular, the largest production-repair base in the republic's energy system.

During the 12th 5-Year Plan, the amount of money allocated for the development of the branch was 1.4 times greater than the money during the three preceding ones. It will be necessary to construct and redesign a high-voltage electric-transmission line with a total length of 110 kilometers. It is planned to carry out the reserving of the electric supply for 17 agricultural consumers in Category I. Measures are planned for reducing the level of electric-energy losses in electrical networks. This will have a tangible economic effect.

T. Khachaturov: We ought to isolate those questions which especially need development. These seem to me to be capital construction. For the country as a whole, there exists a shortcoming—prolonged construction periods. In Moscow we have projects that have been under construction for 8-10 years each.

L. Davidyan: During the past three 5-year plans, 15 new industrial enterprises and production capacities have been activated in our oblast. During 1971-1985 the amount of money channeled into the oblast's development was 483 million rubles of capital investments, or 2.8 times more than during the preceding 15-year period. More and more attention is being paid to the development of the social infrastructure.

Of course, the functioning of the construction complex could be more effective, but for many years a large number of unresolved problems accumulated in the branch. **During recent years there was not a single instance of fulfillment of the plans for capital investments, construction-and-installation operations, or the activation of fixed assets.** A considerable share of the funds allocated for those purposes (in 1971-1977, 45 million rubles) remained unused. For that reason the oblast's economic complex had a shortfall of approximately one-fourth of the planned activation of fixed assets, for a total of 147 million rubles. The periods of time required to construct a number of important projects were drawn out, and there was an excessive increase in the amounts of uncompleted construction and reserves of uninstalled equipment. In 1987, 14 out of 23 contract organizations in the oblast failed to cope with the planned program.

T. Khachaturov: When we speak about this problem, we have to establish the reason for the shortcomings. It seems to me that the level of the material base is insufficient...

L. Davidyan: Yes, to a rather large degree this is linked with the insufficient level of development of the material-technical base in construction, and primarily the building-materials industry.

Question: And this is in the face of the very rich local resources...

L. Davidyan: That's right. Therefore within the next few years it is necessary to carry out measures to guarantee the balanced development of the building-materials industry on the basis of local resources, to activate the capacities of large-panel building construction, and to produce reinforced-concrete articles. And, of course, it is necessary to reinforce planning discipline, to be more dynamic in introducing the new management methods in construction, and to make more complete use of the reserves for intensifying the branch.

T. Khachaturov: How are things in the oblast concerning hard-surface roads?

A. Pogosova, deputy department chief, AzSSR Gosplan: In past years, transportation and communication means developed dynamically in the oblast. A railroad line with all the management necessary for operation was activated in the city of Stepanakert.

Accelerated development, as compared with the republic as a whole, occurred in motor transport: there are 26.3 motor vehicles per 1000 inhabitants of the oblast, as compared with the average of 17.5 for the republic as a whole.

All the rayon centers have been linked with the republic's highways by roads with an improved surface, and the central farmsteads on kolkhozes and sovkhozes have hard-surface motor roads. It is planned to redesign motor columns in Mardakert and Martuni, to build a motor vehicles terminal in Stepanakert, a number of motor roads, and reinforced-concrete overpasses, to carry out the intensive conversion of motor roads to a hard surface, etc. It is also planned to carry out a series of measures to achieve the further development of communication means, primarily the reinforcement of the material-technical base of oblast television.

Question: We haven't heard anything about the economic links among the rayons in the oblast. And, as everyone knows, they are a kind of indicator of the economically justified directions in economic cooperation which have been formed for a prolonged period of time...

V. Akhundov, prorector of the Azerbaijan Institute of Administration of the National Economy: Nagorno-Karabakh has a rather high intensity of economic ties. Suffice it to say that approximately one-half the output produced in the oblast is transported beyond its confines, whereas more than 40 percent of the needs of NKAO are satisfied by shipping products in. A key role

in the formation of the economic ties in the NKAO, and those ties are vitally important for the functioning of the oblast's economy (fuel-energy resources, cooperative shipments of output of light industry, etc.), belongs to the regions of Azerbaijan SSR. With the development of the productive forces of the NKAO, its economic ties with all the union republics have also been becoming more intensified.

A. Guseynov: To what has been said I would like to add that the enterprises in the NKAO have especially close cooperative ties with many rayons in the republic. For example, the largest enterprise in the oblast—Karshelkokombinat—receives raw silk from the Sheki Silk Production Association. Those raw materials are used to produce unbleached silk fabrics which are sent back to Sheki for further processing. The Stepanakert Shoe Factory receives raw materials from Baku enterprises, but its finished output is basically sold within the confines of Azerbaijan SSR. Similar cooperative actions are typical also of the majority of the other enterprises in the oblast.

B. Budagov: Definitely. Because Nagorno-Karabakh [literally, the mountainous Karabakh], together with the flat Karabakh (Agdamskiy, Mir-Bashirskiy, Agdzhabedinskiy, Fizulinskiy, and Dzhebrailskiy Rayons) and western regions of the republic (Kelbadzharskiy, Lachinskiy, and Kutablinskiy Rayons), forms an integrated natural-geographical region, a comprehensive ecological system, a single river system, an interrelated economy and series of communication lines.

The natural-geographic and economic unity of Karabakh and the naturalness of its interrelationships with the other regions are emphasized by the placement of the vitally important communication lines—the Agdam-Stepanakert railroad line, the motor roads, the gas pipeline, and the electric-transmission lines—which is extremely necessary for the effective functioning of the autonomous oblast's national economy.

In other words, the economy of the autonomous oblast and the other regions of the republic is of a reciprocally supplementing nature, but the intensification of the economic interrelationships among them is of an objective nature and is linked with a number of fundamental prerequisites for the systems planning and administration of this single natural-economic complex.

V. Akhundov: All of this attests once again to the fact that **the stable functioning of the economy and the effectiveness of the oblast's economic life depend to a decisive degree upon the interrelationships with the republic's other economic rayons, and its national-economic complex as a whole.**

F. Murshudli, department chief, KOMMUNIST AZERBAYDZHANA magazine, candidate of economic sciences: "All our activities—whether ideological, economic, or political—and people's frame of mind are largely determined by the level of development of the social sphere and well-being. It is precisely in this sphere that the workers' vital interests are realized.

It must be stated outright—and this is a fact of the real-life situation both in the republic and in the oblast—that we have also had positive shifts in the social sphere. In the NKAO the per capita consumption of services is higher than the average for the republic. For every 10,000 inhabitants of the oblast, there are more hospital beds, more enterprises providing trade, public nutrition, and personal services, more libraries, club institutions, and movie projectors. The share of children provided with services by preschool institutions constitutes 35 percent, which is 1.8 times greater than for Azerbaijan SSR as a whole. The public's monetary income has been rising.

K. Shcherbakov, first deputy chairman, AzSSR Goskomtrud [State Committee for Labor and Social Problems]: The resolution of social questions is closely linked with the problem of labor resources. Analysis attests to the fact that the autonomous oblast has been guaranteed the highest level in the republic for involving the able-bodied population in social production. The structure of employment has been improving. Of course, problems also exist. In certain populated points in rural localities the labor-resources potential is being used incompletely. An important role in resolving this problem can be played by the creation of a broad network of branches and shops of industrial enterprises. A rather large amount of work in this direction is being done in the oblast.

K. Imanov, director of the NII of Economics, under AzSSR Gosplan, doctor of economic sciences, professor: It must be emphasized that we also have problems that require the quickest resolution. Moreover, these problems are typical not only of NKAO, but also of the entire republic. **I have in mind the lack of the proper self-interestedness and initiative both on the part of the local soviets, and on the part of the enterprise administrators in the job of creating branches, guaranteeing the most complete use of their potential, carrying out the re-equipping of the accommodations allocated for use as branches, allocating new areas for their expansion, etc.**

Z. Samed-Zade: It is necessary to carry out all measures to encourage the enterprises and the local agencies to expand the network of branches and shops in populated places where available labor resources exist. Similar work in this direction must be carried out by Gosplan, Gosagroprom, and the ministries of light and local industry. Special mention was made of this at the Azerbaijan Communist Party January 1988 Plenum that was devoted to questions of accelerating the perestroyka in the republic.

Unresolved problems also exist in other areas of the social sphere. Apparently those who are present will speak more concretely about the existing shortcomings and reserves. I have in mind an ancient disease—the underestimation of the very serious problems in the social and cultural sphere...

F. Faradzhev: Despite the positive shifts, much will have to be done to achieve a substantial improvement (primarily in the qualitative sense) in the activity of public health institutions and in their technical base. Great emphasis must be made on rendering preventive assistance to the public. Broader use must be made of the oblast's favorable capabilities for developing the resort management.

As for the reinforcement of the material base in the secondary school system, during the past 17 years new general-educational schools that accommodate 21,500 students have been built. At the present time 204 general-educational schools are functioning here, providing knowledge to more than 30,000 students. At the same time, questions linked with their prompt activation are not always resolved successfully. During the years of the 10th and 11th 5-year plans alone, this was the reason for the underactivation of accommodations for more than 2500 students. Without a doubt it will be necessary to take additional steps to reinforce the material base of the social sphere.

B. Karayev, AzSSR minister of finance: I would like to cite several figures. In the 11th 5-Year Plan the volume 9 funds for financing social measures surpassed 140 million rubles—40 percent more than in the 9th. Last year alone 37.7 million rubles, that is, 17.8 percent more than during the previous year, were allocated for those purposes. During the same year the increase was 8.6 percent for the republic as a whole.

But unfortunately, both for the republic as a whole and for the other regions, including the oblast, the budgetary funds are not being used completely: in 1981-1987 the amount that was underused was 8.5 million rubles, or 8.2 percent of their total volume.

G. Agayev, first deputy manager of the Azerbaijan Republic Bank of USSR Gosbank: There is yet another aspect to the question being considered. In the oblast during recent years the commodity-turnover plans have not been fulfilled: for example, during the first two years of the current five-year plan commodities valued at 23.3 million rubles were undersold to the public (this is slightly more than during the entire 11th 5-Year Plan). This, in addition to the shortage of paid services, resulted in a tense situation in monetary circulation, and the nonfulfillment of the cash plan led to a situation in which the oblast has been operating with emission. During last year alone emission covered 24.2 percent of the cash settlements, as compared with 12.4 percent for the republic as a whole. Within the oblast, the highest indicator was 57.9 percent (Gadrutskiy Rayon). Currently the situation is approximately the same. Therefore the first priority task under the new management conditions is the taking of urgent steps to equalize the situation that has been created, and chiefly the guaranteeing of the unconditional fulfillment of the commodity-turnover plan and the rendering of paid services to the public.

B. Aleksenko, AzSSR minister of personal services: I would like to cite certain facts that pertain to this problem. **Last year the volume of various personal services rendered to the public in the oblast was 3.3 times greater than in 1970.** (In terms of an individual inhabitant that indicator currently is 41.4 rubles, as compared with 30.2 rubles for the republic as a whole, including 41.2 rubles as compared with 16.7 rubles in rural localities.)

The branch's material-technical base is becoming stronger. Recently a number of new enterprises were activated, particularly a House of Personal Services employing 150 workers in the city of Stepanakert. The construction of a similar enterprise employing 100 persons is nearly completion in the city of Shusha.

T. Khachaturov: This is a very substantial question that is linked with the social and personal-services aspect. But you will agree that 41 rubles per capita of population is a miserly amount...

B. Aleksenko: The fact of the matter is that for the union that indicator is even smaller—38 rubles per capita of population. Although, of course, there is no need to mention the fact that in the personal-services sphere all the reserves in the autonomous oblast have been exhausted. The branch failed to cope with the planned assignments both as a whole for the 11th 5-Year Plan and for the first two years of the 12th 5-Year Plan. The created capacities are not carrying a full workload. The House of Personal Services in Stepanakert has been using only 70 percent, and many enterprises, practically speaking, have been operating only on a single shift. The percentage of progressive types has been low. The local soviets have failed to allocate to the personal-services sphere more than 40 percent of the planned production areas. Frequently the needs of the kolkhozes and sovkhozes, one-third of which do not have any personal-services facilities, are ignored.

Z. Samed-Zade: But certainly the ministry also has some things that it can work on, especially regarding the transferral of certain functions of your department to the local agencies...

T. Khachaturov: Incidentally, the further development of the personal services sphere could be a means of using manpower, particularly for attracting women to the manpower pool.

One of the acute and urgent tasks is the taking of all steps to develop housing construction. What is being done in this direction? What are the problems and difficulties?

L. Davidyan: During 1961-1987, 1,400,300 square meters of housing was built in the oblast, by drawing on all sources. That figure includes, during the first two years of the current 5-year plan, 123,900 square meters, or 1.6 times more than during the corresponding period in the 11th 5-Year Plan. As a result, more thn 12,000

persons improved their housing conditions. The level of housing provided per inhabitant, both in the city and in rural localities, reached 14.6 square meters.

Question: Those are fairly high indicators.

L. Davidyan: Yes, if one considers that for the republic as a whole they constitute, respectively, 12.2 and 9.2 square meters; for Baku, 11.7; and the average for the country, 14.9 square meters. But this does not mean that everything has been going smoothly here. During the past three 5-year plans more than 50,000 square meters of housing, or 12 percent of the planned volume, has been underactivated in the oblast. At the present time the unjustified limitations on individual housing which previously existed have been removed, and favorable conditions for providing credit for such housing are being created. This will undoubtedly become a very important support in implementing our social plans. There is also a tremendous field of activity here for all party and soviet agencies. **I am speaking about the use of all the opportunities for the intensive development of individual housing construction. Both the republic ministries and departments and the local agencies must continue to build up their efforts in resolving the housing problem.** This is all the more necessary if one takes into consideration the task that has been posed by the party—within the foreseeable future provide every family with individual housing with all the amenities.

I would like to add several words about the amenities provided to inhabited places in the autonomous oblast. The total length of the water-main network in the streets is currently 203.2 kilometers, including 65.5 kilometers in Stepanakert. The level of amenities in the housing fund has been rising, and the scope of the operations to provide gas for the apartments has been expanding. There has been somewhat of an improvement of the public's water supply. This became possible thanks to the construction of several water mains in urban and rural localities, and the activation of 16 new artesian wells. Nevertheless the further improvement of all the work of providing water and gas to the inhabited places remains one of the important tasks that the appropriate republic agencies must take urgent steps to resolve. There is also a rather large amount of work here for the local agencies. That work must be substantially increased.

Question: We have already touched upon certain questions that are linked with prospects for developing the oblast. But I would like to hear what the representative of AzSSR Gosplan has to say in this regard.

M. Mamedov: The State Plan for the Economic and Social Development of Azerbaijan SSR in the 12th 5-Year Plan has stipulated measures to assure the complete development of the productive forces of NKAO and the rise in the level of the public's standard of living. It is planned to increase the volume of state capital investments by a factor of 1.7 times, including a factor of 1.5 times for construction-and-installation operations.

Beyond the confines of the 12th 5-Year Plan, in conformity with the preplanning elaborations, it is planned to building in the oblast a number of enterprises in the machine-building and food industries, and to expand and remodel existing ones. All this will make it possible to increase the volume of industrial output during the forthcoming 15-year period by a factor of 2.2. It is planned to carry out specific measures to increase the gross output of agriculture.

I would like to state that, with the creation of the economic production administration, there will be a considerable expansion of the opportunities for scientifically substantiated planning of the development of the oblast's productive forces.

T. Khachaturov: It was very pleasant for me to exchange opinions with my associates regarding questions of the further development of the productive forces of Nagorno-Karabakh. I must admit that I did not have at my disposal sufficiently complete information on these questions, and our discussion made it possible to fill that gap somewhat. Mention was made here of the successes achieved in the oblast. But there are also a large number of problems and difficulties.

It is necessary to intensify the restructuring of industry in the direction of the priority development of the progressive branches, and primarily machine building. Special attention at such time must be paid to those branches that require the application of skilled labor. It is necessary to take more dynamic steps to raise the technical level of production and to accelerate the rates of renovation of the equipment pool.

A. Gadzhiyev: This problem also pertains most directly both to the entire republic and to its other regions. For the republic's national economy as a whole, the rates of renovation of fixed assets have been low.

T. Khachaturov: As is the situation for the country as a whole, the weak link here is capital construction. I have in mind, first of all, its insufficient material-technical base and the existence of construction projects that have been in progress for many years. Another important task is the development of road management, the construction of hard-surface roads. With a consideration of the oblast's complex relief, it would be desirable to locate opportunities for developing irrigated vegetable husbandry.

There are also problems in the social sphere. **In my opinion, it is necessary to think a bit about expanding the scope of personnel training.** I am making no categorical assertion, but there might be some sense in thinking a bit about organizing a number of educational institutions with a consideration of the long-range changes in the oblast's economy. And, of course, in conformity with the spirit of perestroyka and democratization, it is necessary to expand the rights granted to the local agencies.

It seems to me that, in the measures for assuring the further socioeconomic development of NKAO which are currently being prepared by the republic, it would be desirable to reflect all these factors.

Z. Samed-Zade: Thus, summing up the results of our discussion, we come to the conclusion that the NKAO has problems that require profound analysis and practical resolution. As has already been noted, these are, primarily, questions of the effective use of the large economic potential that has been created here thanks to the selfless work performed by the workers in the oblast and the entire republic and with the fraternal aid provided by the entire Soviet nation. There exist specific questions pertaining to the development of the agro-industrial complex, the protection of the environment, and the efficient placement of the productive forces, particularly the enterprises in the nonproduction sphere, among the various rayons and inhabited places in the oblast, the accelerated resolution of social problems, etc. It will also be necessary to achieve changes for the better in the cultural sphere. It is important to construct the work here in such a way that it will completely satisfy people's spiritual needs and will correspond to their interests, and that one can sense in every populated place in the oblast the party's growing concern for developing the social and cultural sphere.

It must be admitted that certain republic ministries and departments and local soviets have not always been resolving in a comprehensive and consistent manner the questions raised by the republic's autonomous oblast. One continues to see evidence of delaying tactics, inertia, and old approaches. **The questions that have been raised and the existing difficulties and problems must be resolved in the spirit of carrying out the policy of and renovation in our country.**

I would especially like to emphasis that the comprehensive study of the productive forces of the oblast and the other regions of the republic requires expanding the scope of the research in the scientific-research institutions of the Academy of Sciences, Gosplan, and Gosagroprom. This will provide the opportunity to activate more completely the reserves for economic growth and intensification that exist here.

As has already been reported, at the present time, in conformity with the instructions provided by the CPSU Central Committee, the republic ministries and departments are preparing, jointly with the oblast administrative agencies, a series of measures to assure the further development of the productive forces of Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast, which measures will reflect the questions linked with the more efficient use of the large production potential that has been accumulated in the oblast, and with the resolution of social tasks. I think that the measures being developed will also take into consideration the problems that have been touched upon by us today. Taking into consideration the indisputable benefit of such discussion, I would deem it to be desirable to continue the discussion that has been begun concerning the problems of further development both for NKAO and for the other regions of the republic.

The participants of the meeting thanked Academician T. S. Khachaturov for his meaningful statement and valuable recommendations.

Comparable Indicators of Social Development

	AzSSR	NKAO	USSR	ArSSR
1. Number of hospital beds per 10,000 persons	97.7	101.7	130.1	86.2
2. Number of physicians of all specialties per 10,000 persons	38.4	29.1	42.7	38.6
3. Number of middle-level medical workers per 10,000 persons	93.5	122.7	114.7	93.5
4. Number of mass-use libraries per 10,000 persons	6	13	4.8	4.1
5. Number of clubs per 10,000 persons	5	15	4.8	3.8
6. Number of movie projectors per 10,000 persons	3	11.2	5.4	2.9
7. Number of children served by preschool institutions (in percentages of size of population of the corresponding age)	20	35	57	39
8. Number of students attending first shift (in percentages of overall number of students)	74.3	92.5	78.2	87.8
9. Housing fund per inhabitant (square meters)	10.9	14.6	14.9	13.7
including:				
in urban localities	12.2	14.6	14.3	13.1
in rural localities	9.2	14.6	16.1	15.0

Subsidies' Abolition Must Compensate Poor

PM280935 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 23 Apr 88 p 3

[Article by Candidate of Economic Sciences A. Shmarov and USSR Gosplan Economics Research Institute scientific worker N. Kirichencko under the rubric "Restructuring the Economy: Pricing Reform": "Subsidies Are Not the Only Way"]

[Text] The long-standing principle of retail price stability has come into contradiction with real life: Prices have risen. Indeed, is stability achievable? After all, we want our socioeconomic system to be dynamic and developing. We want prices not only to reflect the situation in this system but also to exert an active influence on it. Given this, is it possible for some rigid element to be "built into" this system?

We support the view of those who consider that it is necessary to proceed from the premise that prices must change. The entire question is how this is to be done

without detriment to living standards, particularly among people on low incomes. The main task here, in our view, is to establish new relationships somewhere between artifically understated and equally artificially overstated prices.

High-quality food products account for the lion's share of price subsidies. Who mainly buys these products? People with bigger incomes.

Is it possible to manage without subsidies—an inconvenient economic lever in many respects? Absolutely. After all, the R57 billion a year spent by the treasury to subsidize food prices, plus the other billions spent to cover the losses made by urban transport, housing and municipal services, and cultural and children's institutions, are all ultimately recouped from other sources. Primarily from the turnover tax on nonfood products. This is the sum by which retail prices for textiles, clothing, footwear, furniture, and so forth—right up to luxury goods—are overstated.

But even the turnover tax is not enough.

The best solution is to remove the accumulated deformations—the artificial overstatement and understatement of prices. The result is an increase in food prices, charges for currently loss-making forms of services to the population, apartment rents, and community charges. But there is a simultaneous fall in the price of many nonfood products.

We calculate that the gain from such a reduction in prices is considerable—it could reach approximately R23 billion a year. An impressive amount. But it is still not enough to offset the increase in prices and charges, which is computed at R68 billion. Where is the rest to come from?

An extra R29 billion-plus could be obtained by abolishing income tax on workers' and employees' wages. This tax is levied as a percentage of wages, and thus the compensating benefit would reflect varying labor contributions. While increasing working people's nominal incomes, the abolition of the tax would not impact on production costs. This is important: It would not cause undesirable inflationary factors.

As is known, income tax is not payable on pensions, allowances, grants, and kolkhoz member's income from public-sector farming. Members of the population in these categories would require compensation from the state budget. The size of the compensation, in our view, should be set at the level of income tax rates. Finally, some assistance would be required for the less affluent—families with many children, for example. A further R16 billion or so would have to be found from the budget for this. The "balance" of price reform would then be satisfactory.

There is a view that no matter what compensation there is, reform will inevitably hit the pockets of the least affluent families. This is not quite true. Take meat products, for example. The real cost of these products is currently R3 per kilogram for low-income families and around R2 for high-income families. If the new price was, say R4.20, it is easy to work out that the latter would have to pay an additional R2.2, while the former would only have to pay an extra R1.20. Furthermore, it is contemplated that a broad range of prices would be made dependent on the quality of the product. Thus for less affluent families meat would be more affordable at comparatively moderate prices.

One other thing needs to be taken into account. At present turnover tax accounts for a higher proportion of the price of cheap cultural and domestic goods than it does for expensive ones. It is less affluent families that buy cheap models. Thus they "pay" a relatively larger percentage in turnover tax at these prices than purchasers of expensive products. This injustice should also be eliminated in reforming prices.

We are not dealing with the production aspect of such reform here. There is just one observation we would make. At present 6 out of every 10 kolkhozes and sovkhozes in the country run at a loss. State subsidies to such farms total around R10 billion a year. Could the extent of this dead weight not be reduced by abandoning, if only temporarily, part of these farms' least profitable output and at the same time reorganizing them and converting them to the production of output which is more profitable for the farms themselves and more needed by the population? The scale of price rises could be considerably reduced if subsidies were successfully reduced by even half.

Foreign Exchange, Checking Services Outlined

PM270923 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 22 Apr 88 Morning Edition p 3

[V. Tolstov article under the rubric "From Competent Sources": "Foreign Currency Account"—boldface as published]

[Text] **It was already reported that the USSR Council of Ministers adopted a resolution on measures to fundamentally improve the existing system for the sale of goods through Vneshposyltorg [USSR Ministry of Foreign Trade association for exports of Soviet industrial and food products to Soviet citizens and institutions abroad] (IZVESTIYA No 29, 1988). How is this work progressing?**

The regulations now being elaborated to govern citizens' transactions in foreign currency are geared to afford maximum protection of the interests of those who are the legitimate owners of such funds. Conversely, those who have obtained Vneshposyltorg checks or foreign currency through illegal dealings will no longer have an opportunity to exchange them for goods or credit them to their accounts in the future. Specifically, the USSR

Council of Ministers resolution authorizes the USSR Savings Bank to open special accounts in its branches in the name of owners of Vneshposyltorg checks until 1 January 1989. These accounts will be credited with the ruble equivalent of the amount of any checks presented.

This is subject to the proviso that the legitimate ownership of checks must be confirmed by appropriate documentation. No accounts will be opened for sums less than R500. Such deposits will earn no interest, but account holders will have the right to use the amounts to purchase goods in cashless transactions according to regulations governing the use of foreign currency amounts held in accounts with the USSR Bank for Foreign Economic Activity. Cash in hand can be obtained in rubles. It must be added that the right to open an account in the name of a checkholder is vested in USSR Savings Bank branches located in union republic capitals and the country's major cities.

Additional information obtained by the editorial office concerns the procedure for exchanging into rubles any foreign currency already held by citizens in accounts with USSR banks and the Vneshposyltorg, as well as any currency which may be deposited in such accounts before the end of this year. The USSR Ministry of Finance, the USSR Gosbank, and the USSR Bank for Foreign Economic Activity have announced that any such transactions will enjoy the same preferential rates which applied hitherto to the exchange of foreign currency for Vneshposyltorg checks. Checks will be accepted back from citizens until 1 July 1988 and foreign currency amounts will be credited to accounts with the USSR Bank for Foreign Economic Activity. Such transactions will also require check owners to produce documents confirming legitimacy of ownership. Foreign currency amounts in accounts with the Bank for Foreign Economic Activity can be used in the future when traveling abroad or, as has already been reported, for the acquisition of goods, primarily consumer durables.

Account holders will be notified by the Bank for Foreign Economic Activity and the Vneshposyltorg in good time of any forthcoming changes in preferential rates. In the event of changes, the new rates will be applied only to funds paid into the account after the introduction of such changes.

Work to improve the system of foreign currency transactions by citizens is continuing in the USSR Ministry of Finance, the Vneshposyltorg, the Bank for Foreign Economic Activity, and other departments concerned with this problem.

Further on Exchange Terms

PM281559 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 27 Apr 88 Morning Edition p 3

[Unattributed report: "Information on Procedure and Terms for the Exchange of 'Vneshposyltorg' All-Union Association Checks"]

[Text] "Vneshposyltorg" [USSR Ministry of Foreign Trade association for exports of Soviet industrial and food products to Soviet citizens and institutions abroad] All-Union Association checks may be redeemed either by crediting the relevant sums in foreign currency to a type "V" account at the USSR Bank for Foreign Economic Activity, by credit to special (ruble) accounts at the USSR Savings Bank, or by payment in Soviet rubles.

The acceptance of checks for credits to type "V" accounts at the USSR Bank for Foreign Economic Activity will continue until 1 July 1988 but only from citizens who received those checks in Soviet establishments abroad and on presentation by them of a certificate in the prescribed form indicating the specific amounts in foreign currencies paid in exchange for checks.

The exchange will take place at the following points:

—in Moscow, at the "Vneshposyltorg" All-Union Association on Kutuzov Prospekt, 7/4; and at the premises of the USSR Bank for Foreign Economic Activity in Leningrad, Nakhodka, Tallinn, Minsk, Kiev, and Odessa.

Soviet citizens who have legitimately received checks in the USSR or abroad may before the end of 1988 open special (ruble) accounts at departments of the USSR Savings Bank situated in capitals of union and autonomous republics and in kray and oblast centers. These accounts are to be opened for amounts of at least R500.

Money from special (ruble) accounts may be used by account holders for the purchase of goods by written order in the manner governing the such use of resources in foreign currency from type "V" accounts at the USSR Bank for Foreign Economic Activity.

Money from special (ruble) accounts and type "V" accounts may be paid out at the account holders' request in Soviet rubles. When paying out money from type "V" accounts the current exchange rates [raschetnyye koeffitsiyenty] will be applied to the entire duration of these accounts. Repayment in rubles from special accounts will be made on a ruble for ruble basis. The exchange of "Vneshposyltorg" All-Union Association checks will take place at the aforementioned branches of the USSR Savings Bank in the second half of 1988 without the presentation of any documents.

State, Cooperative Workers' Tax Discrimination

PM281536 Moscow TRUD in Russian 24 Apr 88 p 1

[Interview with Doctor of Economic Sciences G. Shmelev, sector chief at the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Economics of the World Socialist System, by TRUD correspondent S. Mostovshchikov: "Onward? Onward!"—date, place of interview not given—first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] Economists regard the sum of R350 million as a small sum for our country. They also note that that is what we spent last year on the goods and services that the

most diverse kinds of cooperatives began to offer us from May 1987. What is the situation today and what prospects to experts see for the cooperatives? TRUD's correspondent talked with Doctor of Economic Sciences G. Shmelev, sector chief at the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Economics of the World Socialist System.

[Shmelev] By the beginning of 1988 some 23,000 cooperatives were registered in the country. In Moscow Oblast alone some 1,200 have now been set up. There are 156,000 cooperative workers in the country. They are mainly engaged in providing consumer services to the population. Next come those who produce consumer goods, and then there are those who are employed in public catering. A growing number of cooperatives are taking on the functions of intermediary firms providing services to enterprises. Small collectives of people have begun to create very complex mathematical programs which whole institutes spend years on... In a word, the dynamics of the development of the new form of labor show that cooperatives are beneficial both to those who work in them, and to the consumer, and therefore to the state.

[Mostovshchikov] You said some 23,000 cooperatives have been registered. That is, of course, a very small number. And then, have they all begun work?

[Shmelev] Only 14,000 have begun work. The others are either waiting to be granted premises or refitting the premises they have received.

Premises are a major problem. Other problems exist too. Locally, leaders often decide for themselves which cooperative should exist and which should not. Unjustified bans are sometimes based on their own emotions and evaluations.

And finally, there is another obstacle. It is felt that the main manpower in the cooperative should consist of pensioners, disabled people, housewives, students, and so forth. A person who does not belong to these categories of the population can join a cooperative, in general, on condition that he also has a permanent job. That is a violation of citizens' constitutional rights and entails a whole series of negative phenomena. I am sure the Law on the Cooperative System will review the existing state of affairs.

[Mostovshchikov] One often hears it said that cooperative workers' incomes are high. Many people disapprove of this....

[Shmelev] People who think cooperative workers receive "insane" sums of money without any great effort are mistaken. Young, enterprising, skillful, businesslike people, as a rule with a good education and an excellent knowledge of their job, have perhaps for the first time been given the opportunity to earn money according to the end results of their labor.

A cooperative for the production of women's panty hose sprang up in Moldavia some time ago. Four members of this cooperative received R200,000 of income in 4 months! They themselves took fright and closed the cooperative themselves, just in case. Then the legal and financial organs looked into the phenomenon. It emerged that the sum was earned by absolutely honest means. The main "culprit" was the shortage.

Of course, it is possible to talk about social injustice here: Why should a highly qualified engineer receive R100-120 a month, while someone manufacturing panty hose receives many times more? The answer is simple: The state is not paying the engineer for the end result of his labor. What is the conclusion? We should not sew up the cooperative worker's pockets. We should think about enabling the state worker, employee, physician, and designer to earn just as much. Although not, of course, for nothing.

[Mostovshchikov] Nonetheless from 1 April this year a progressive tax on income has been introduced, and many people, learning of this, abandoned the intention to open a cooperative. Are there no fears that the innovation will be harmful?

[Shmelev] My personal opinion is that the progressive tax that has been set is indeed excessive. When it was being prepared, the experience of certain developed capitalist countries was drawn on. But we cannot close our eyes to the fact that, say, in the United States a similar taxation policy led to the most negative consequences. But it must also be admitted that the former tax was indeed too mild.

The progressive tax is only felt when the cooperative worker has a comparatively high income. For instance, where the income is over R1,500, the state takes 90 percent of the sum earned. But let us be realistic: Cooperatives are developing, and their members' incomes will inevitably grow. Then the problem of a few individuals becomes a problem for many. This will create an insuperable barrier for cooperatives and their initiative and enterprise.

Moreover the progressive tax, on comparatively high incomes, places the state worker and the cooperative worker in completely unequal conditions. Calculations show that the former and the letter, earning an identical decent sum, will have to pay over to the state different sums—the state will take several times more from the cooperative worker in tax. Why? This is patent discrimination. Let us hope that the competent organs will review the new tax system and take a final, sensible, and well considered decision.

I can see only one way to accelerate the development of cooperatives. It is to create the conditions for normal competition both between the state and cooperative sectors, and among the cooperatives themselves. Then many questions will be resolved of their own accord. We

will avoid the concealment of income that inevitably will begin when progressive taxation is introduced. In many socialist countries where competition exists, the cooperative workers themselves partially take on the function of tax inspectors.

Moreover it is quite clear that a healthy economy inevitably leads to the saturation of the market with goods, an improvement in their quality, and a reduction in prices. The most important thing is for people to know for what they are working. The cooperatives know it. We wish them success.

Chemical Industry Collegium Views Reforms

PM281521 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 28 Apr 88 p 2

[Own correspondent L. Sotnik report: "Lesson in Kalush"]

[Text] Ivano-Frankovsk Oblast—An enlarged session of the USSR Ministry of the Chemical Industry Collegium and the Chemical and Petrochemical Industry Workers Trade Union Central Committee Presidium has been held at the "Khlorvinil" Association in the Carpathian city of Kalush.

"Khlorvinil" in Kalush was not chosen at random. By switching to new economic management methods, the loss-making association has not only improved economic indicators but stands a realistic chance to move into profitability in the near future. It has been helped in this by the smooth organization of financially autonomous [khozraschetnyy] relations between shops and plants, the skillful utilization of credit, and the reduction of production costs.

Summing up the results of the collegium session, Yu. Bespalov, USSR minister of the chemical industry, pointed to the need for a gradual transition from the "first model" of economic accountability to the "second," ensuring the genuine self-financing of enterprises and linking labor collectives' incomes to the results of economic activity.

Taking part in the enlarged session were Yu. Borodkin, deputy chief of the CPSU Central Committee Chemical Industry Department; and S. Alekseyev, secretary of the Chemical and Petrochemical Industry Workers Trade Union Central Committee.

Scientific

'Mir' Cosmonauts Observe X-Ray Source

LD290904 Moscow TASS in English 0840 GMT 29 Apr 88

[Text] Moscow April 29 TASS—By a TASS correspondent at the Mission Control Center:

Cosmonauts Vladimir Titov and Musa Manarov are in their 130th day in orbit.

In the past two days they conducted geophysics and astrophysics experiments, replaced individual elements of their orbiting platform Mir's on-board systems in accordance with the schedule of maintenance work, and loaded spent equipment into the cargo hold of the Progress-35 spacecraft.

In keeping with a program for studying the natural resources of earth and its environment, the crew conducted several more series of photo sessions and visual observations focusing on Soviet territory, in particular Polesye, the central black-earth belt and the Caspian depression.

The spacemen did several experiments to determine background noise levels inside Mir.

In the morning today they underwent a medical check, which included measuring their bodies' mass, evaluating the condition of their muscles which had been under lower-than-normal stress in zero gravity, and making a clinical analysis of their blood samples by means of a minicentrifuge.

The spacemen also began the scheduled refuelling of the platform's combined propulsion unit with fuel and an oxidizing agent from the tanks of Progress-35.

In accordance with an international program for exoatmospheric astronomy studies, Titov and Manarov continued experiments using the orbital observatory Roentgen. Today its telescopes will be trained on the X-ray source Cygnus X-1.

According to the results of medical monitoring, Titov and Manarov are in good health and feeling well.

The flight of the manned platform Mir is proceeding normally.

Bulgarian Cosmonaut To Be Launched 7 Jun

LD290558 Moscow TASS in English 0524 GMT 29 Apr 88

[Text] Moscow April 29 TASS—A Soviet-Bulgarian crew will roar off into outer space on June 7, a TASS correspondent has been told at the Soviet space agency Glavkosmos.

The Bulgarian for the eight-day mission will be chosen between pilots Aleksandur Aleksandrov (in 1979 the backup of first Bulgarian spaceman Georgiy Ivanov) and Krasimir Stoyanov who are to face the pre-launch medical commission on May 6.

The two, currently in the final phase of training at the Cosmonaut Training Center outside Moscow, will leave for the space port Baykonur on May 26 together with the prospective Soviet members of the international crew.

The team, in which the Bulgarian member will be the researcher-cosmonaut, are to do a wide range of technological, medical and biological experiments and scientific, including nature, studies aboard the Soviet orbiting platform Mir in the interest of Bulgaria's economy.

Part of the studies will later be continued by a Soviet-Afghan space team who are to blast off next August among other facilities; the researcher-cosmonaut from Afghanistan will be using onboard equipment made in Bulgaria.

'Energiya' Rocket Program Plans Outlined

LD290236 Moscow in English to North America 2200 GMT 28 Apr 88

[Text] The Soviet Union is planning to launch a reusable spacecraft shortly. The craft will be taken into orbit by a new generation booster rocket in the Energiya series. The booster consists of two stages, which having a total mass of 2,000 tons, are capable of lifting into orbit a payload of 100 tons. Energiya boosters enable the Soviet Union to lift into orbit payloads five times greater than those taken to space by the previous generation Proton rocket and three times greater than the payload of the American shuttle; and that is not the only advantage of Energiya.

The rocket's stages are arranged parallel to each other, and the payload is mounted laterally. This makes it possible to take into orbit both unmanned craft of various sizes and manned spacecraft. This is a unique feature of the new Soviet booster, which measures 60 meters in height and has a maximum diameter of 20 meters.

The development of the booster required a new approach to ground support system planning and new facilities for filling it with propellants, launching, and in-flight control. Liquid hydrogen is a very tricky propellant, and it cannot be allowed to come into contact with the air because an explosive mixture may form. A special system had to be developed to handle exceess hydrogen in filling the booster.

Some materials grow stronger at low temperatures, and this has been taken into account in designing lightweight propellant tanks, which are filled with liquid hydrogen at a low temperature.

A great deal of emphasis was understandably placed on computerizing all the prelaunch and launch processes. The pretakeoff procedure is based on a triple standby computer system controlling every step. The computers store 500 simulated malfunctioning situations and optimal procedures for dealing with them. There are 2,000 sensors monitoring a very large number of booster parameters. Having received distress signals, they promptly deactivate booster systems. A human operator cannot control as many fast processes at the same time, but operators running the booster launch system have the final say. They always have a choice of whether to follow computer recommendations or take a more appropriate decision.

The takeoff complex is a very impressive sight. The concrete pad of the Soyuz booster is the size of a large stadium; the pad of Energiya is several times larger.

According to the president of the USSR Academy of Sciences, Guriy Marchuk, the introduction of Energiya will increase the chances of taking large structures to space, such as solar power plants energizing space workshops, and other facilities. It will also promote interplanetary spaceflight projects.

Minister on Nuclear Power Industry Safeguards

LD281700 Moscow TASS in English 1610 GMT 28 Apr 88

[Text] Moscow April 28 TASS—A decision has been taken on building in the USSR in the nineties of two nuclear power heat supply stations with a high-temperature helium-cooling reactor of a new type, a TASS correspondent was told by Nikolay Lukonin, USSR Minister of Nuclear Energy. He said that after the accident of 1986 the nuclear-physical characteristics had been changed in the reactors of the type, which were installed in the Chernobyl nuclear power plant. As a result they became safer. The technical measures carried out in all the power generating sets of this type will make it possible to exclude accidents with grave consequences even if an improbable thing happens and blunders made by the personnel of the Chernobyl nuclear power plant are repeated.

Work is under way to increase the reliability of the cooling systems in order to prevent an overheating of the reactor in any situation. Measures have been envisaged for the emergency of an increase in pressure under the protective casing of the reactor: Special filters are being designed to reduce pressure. Lukonin stressed that "additional safeguards are being introduced in all the nuclear power plants in operation or under construction. [no closing quotation marks as received]

Touching upon the prospects for a restructuring of the world's power engineering system, Nikolay Lukonin said that the world cannot do without nuclear power engineering. Thus, for people, in the European part of the USSR which has an insufficient supply of mineral fuel, the demand for energy will be met chiefly through nuclear power plants. While in 1985 the aggregate generating capacity of all of these country's nuclear power plants was more than 28 million kilowatts this figure will roughly double by the year 1990, and treble by 1995, Lukonin said.

Military

Chief Military Prosecutor on 'Acute' Problems

PM280900 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 26 Apr 88 Morning Edition p 3

[Interview with Chief Military Prosecutor Lieutenant General of Justice B.S. Popov by S. Taranov: "The Law and the Army"; date and place not given—first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] It is possible to hear, virtually simultaneously, opposing opinions on the observance of socialist legality in the army. Some say: There is always strict order in the army's ranks. Others claim lawlessness sometimes occurs behind the high fences surrounding army units. Both views, paradoxically, are "founded" on the same thing—an extremely small quantity of reliable information. This kind of "glasnost" is explained by the customary army "secrecy." How do matters really stand? How effectively is the struggle being waged for strict observance of legality in the country's Armed Forces? This was the subject of our conversation with Chief Military Prosecutor Lieutenant General of Justice B.S. Popov.

[Taranov] But first, Boris Sergeyevich, a few words about the military prosecutor's office. To whom, specifically, are you subordinate?

[Popov] We are subordinate only to the USSR general prosecutor. We collaborate closely with the USSR Defense Ministry, the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate, and the relevant command and political organs locally.

[Taranov] I suppose this is a reflection of the interconnection between the army and society...

[Popov] Of course, you cannot shut the army away, behind an impenetrable wall, from the processes taking place in our society. Problems, shortcomings, and defects that are current in society influence both officials and personnel of military units.

Today the problem of respect for the law and strict compliance with it by everyone, regardless of status or rank, is among the most acute. The conditions of restructuring have shown how far the deformation of moral and political values went in the days of "stagnation." Naturally, it did not bypass the army. Some military cadres acquired a habitual lack of efficiency and fondness for paperwork and cheap ostentation. Add to this the incorrect understanding of the principle of combined military and political leadership, which certain commanding officers confuse with the assumption that they can do whatever they like.

[Taranov] For instance?

[Popov] Some 60 percent of orders challenged as unlawful by military prosecutors were signed by commanding officers in violation of elementary regulation norms. Yet the law should not be broken in any circumstances. The attitude of "expediency" in the application of any given law has long since been condemned by our party and the legislative organs.

Remember, nearly all the leaders of civilian organizations who were found to be at fault also found justifications, even for the most unseemly actions. As a result they are now having to part with both their "lofty" posts and their once good name. A cleansing process is also taking place in the Armed Forces.

[Taranov] Doubtless it is not going too easily here either? While preparing to meet with you, I transcribed a curious fragment of a prosecutor's report—how Lieutenant General A. Afanasyev, chief of the political section at a certain Defense Ministry institution, reacted to the military prosecutor's demand for written explanations. "...He refused to supply written evidence. He came out with unprintable language, thumped the table with his fist, and said, raising his voice, that he is the political section chief and his word must be believed. He repeated several times that the workers of the prosecutor's office should remember the consequences that could ensue for them..."

[Popov] The consequences of unlawful actions (free redecoration of his apartment, illegal use of an official dacha) affected Afanasyev himself. The question of party proceedings against him has been raised.

[Taranov] Is that an isolated case, or common practice?

[Popov] It is rather an illustration of how the work of the military prosecutor's office is being restructured. Supervision of officials' actions, which became slack in past years, is our paramount task. We are clearly aware that the guarantee of law and order lies in the purity and legality of the actions of commanding officers, political workers, staffs, and all military management organs. I wish to stress particularly that this course meets with the support and approval of leaders of the Defense Ministry and the Main Political Directorate.

[Taranov] Are there tangible results?

[Popov] Yes. Compared with 1985, the number of offenses has fallen by nearly one-fourth. Serious and group crimes have begun to decline, and there are fewer alcohol-related crimes and misdemeanors of various kinds. The fall in the number of victims—by 26.5 percent—is pleasing. The stability of the trends observed is confirmed by reports for the first 3 months of 1988: Virtually all categories of general criminal and military crimes have declined. This (returning to the beginning of our conversation) is the consequence of changes for the better in the country and in the Armed Forces.

[Taranov] People say it benefits the commanding officer, who is responsible for everything that happens in the unit, to hush up unfortunate occurrences. Is that true?

[Popov] It does not benefit anyone to hush things up. Such attempts lead to a very sharp reaction, they are reported to the defense minister himself and the chief of the Main Political Directorate. It is also important that the command now supports those officers who, without regard for the deterioration in formal statistical indicators, resolutely uncover shortcomings. Last year, for instance, half of all criminal cases were brought on the initiative of the commanding officers of military units.

[Taranov] Do infringements of the law occur in the work of the military prosecutors and investigators themselves?

[Popov] Rarely, but yes, they do. Recently, to our shame, two bribe-takers were uncovered—in Rostov Oblast and Krasnodar Kray. Their actions can only be called treacherous... Five prosecutors were dismissed for deceptive reporting—they wanted to "improve" the statistics, you see... But in general terms, military lawyers have never lost sight of the problem of compliance with legality. In general there are no fabricated criminal cases in our prosecutor's offices. There is no "keeping it in the family"... But there are still many errors in our work.

[Taranov] Let us come back to individual types of offenses. IZVESTIYA readers are naturally very worried about bullying. How can the tenacity of this ignominious phenomenon be explained?

[Popov] It is my profound conviction that it has its roots outside the army. Where, tell me, do we learn how to relate to people? Do you not see small children everywhere humiliating each other with impunity? And in the schools, vocational and technical schools, technical colleges? Sociological research and materials from criminal cases show that a significant proportion of young men, even before joining the army, have experienced for themselves or witnessed assaults and even beatings by some students against others. With time, an ethical distortion becomes the norm that the draftees take into the Armed Forces with them.

How can we ignore the fact that in the last 20 years criminality among adolescents has doubled, and drunkenness, drugs, and toxic substance abuse have begun to affect our young people? What about the problem of preparation for military service, which is full of real difficulties and gaps? Many new recruits are physically weak, and, even worse, not used to conscious discipline... Of course, even they can acquire civic maturity during their service, they are literally transformed before your very eyes. But not all of them.

These phenomena can only be negated by conscientious work and efforts on the official and human levels by commanding officers, political workers, party and Komsomol organizations, the army and navy public, and military lawyers. Violations of regulation rules for relationships among servicemen (as the legislators have called these actions) are extremely rare where officers distribute the burden correctly among their subordinates, keep an eye on all the soldiers, and live by their concerns and joys.

Finally, it must be admitted that 15 years ago, when assaults by some servicemen against others became more frequent, military prosecutors, commanding officers, and the army and navy public underestimated the dangers of these phenomena. The struggle against them was carried out episodically and usually by means of the criminal law: If gross hooliganism was established, the culprits were sent to court. But real preventive work was weak.

[Taranov] Do you believe, Boris Sergeyevich, that violations of regulation rules for relationships can be rapidly overcome and that they will become a thing of the past?

[Popov] Certainly. Even now there are many subunits where they do not exist at all—for instance, in the paratroopers and border forces. Optimism is inspired by the rapid change in the attitude to such cases: not the conciliatory approach of past years, but action, the desire for change. This can be sensed at all levels of military service. Ultimately, the Soviet Armed Forces have resolved far more complex tasks. We will cope with this evil also.

[Taranov] What would be your advice to young servicemen who come up against the humiliation of their human dignity, against threats?

[Popov] Strictly follow the prescriptions of the laws and regulations. When there are encroachments on the interests of the Soviet state or public or personal interests—including those of other people—report it to your commanding officer. It is also possible to turn to the prosecutor of the garrison or formation, and in a critical situation, naturally, to defend those interests—your own and those of your colleagues—within the framework of permissible self-defense.

I would also like to give some advice to the parents of boys who are serving in the army or will be serving in the new spring draft. Don't believe all the "horror" stories about the army. Not infrequently, they are concocted or impossibly exaggerated fables, legends, a kind of folklore that the serviceman takes home with him when he is dismissed to the reserves and that he recounts from sheer bravado: Look what scrapes I survived... Let me quote a typical example. When Defense Minister Army General D.T. Yazov received a letter from a serviceman's mother in which, citing information received from her son, she reported "outrages" and "oppressions" in the unit where he serves, the minister personally looked into it and invited the woman and her son to visit him, whereupon

the son admitted, in his mother's presence, that he had invented it all. This was confirmed by a special commission working in the subunit with the participation of the military prosecutor.

[Taranov] Incidentally, about real and fabricated problems. Have you heard the term "Afghan criminality"?

[Popov] I have not heard it, since there is no problem of "Afghan criminality" in the Armed Forces. The nature of offenses in the limited contingent of Soviet troops does not stand out in any particular way. In fact, in the last 2 years the number of such offenses has been halved.

Talk about the tendency of soldiers who have been in Afghanistan to engage in "violent" actions of some kind is equally groundless.

[Taranov] How serious is the problem of mercenary crimes—embezzlement, theft of army property?

[Popov] According to our statistics, one-fourth of all crimes are mercenary. Various kinds of machinations involving gasoline, spare parts, and food are worrisome. Thus the case was recently uncovered of a military unit's subsidiary plot which was in effect the personal farm of the commanding officers and workers of the economic services...

[Taranov] I know there have been much-publicized cases too. For instance, a rear admiral who served in a high post in one of the fleets was convicted and is serving his sentence. He and his subordinates, from warrant officers upward, contrived to steal tens of thousands of rubles from the state...

[Popov] That is a comparatively rare case. To the honor of the Armed Forces, it did not develop into a "mafia" extending vertically and horizontally, as was the case in the Moscow Main Administration of Trade, Rostov-na-Donu, and Bukhara.

War has now been declared everywhere on mercenary offenses. We are trying to eliminate the conditions that foster these phenomena—inadequate accounting and storage of material assets, thriftlessness, and negligence on the part of officials.

[Taranov] You often see soldiers from regular units working at industrial enterprises, and sometimes building houses in dacha villages. Are they diverted from service under the law?

[Popov] There is no such law. The regulations provide for using troops to combat fires and natural disasters only by way of assistance to the civilian population. As a rule civilian organizations pay the military with construction materials and consumer goods. Is there a shortage of these in the army? No, both materials and other goods are allocated in sufficient quantities. But some "enterprising" commanding officers want to stand out, to equip their office and furnish the unit's premises lavishly... Whereas formerly the monitoring bodies took no notice of this, now the instructions are unequivocal: It is time to put an end to all diversions from service.

[Taranov] We have not yet discussed the disciplinary battalions. Is this reeducation measure effective?

[Popov] Judge for yourself: 96-97 percent of servicemen sent to the disciplinary battalion did not commit any further crimes. In civilian life, the recidivism percentage is much higher.

[Taranov] I expect the parents of convicted soldiers write to you and ask you to commute the punishment...

[Popov] ...And accuse the army of every sin in the book for failing to keep their son out of crime. Although they should take more responsibility themselves for raising their offspring.

[Taranov] There are questions about nature conservation issues, too. Who, specifically, is responsible for the damage done to the countryside during exercises?

[Popov] The army has no privileges here. First, exercises are held in specially allocated ranges and sea areas. Second, the requirements of nature conservation legislation apply fully to military units, enterprises, and organizations: Damage to the environment, once it is done, is made good from Defense Ministry funds. The resolution of specific ecological questions depends on a principled approach by local authorities, prosecutor's offices, and the public.

[Taranov] Boris Sergeyevich, when did you last speak to the nonspecialized, nonmilitary press?

[Popov] I must admit, I never have. For some reason, I did not think it was possible to speak openly about our specific subjects, and moreover there were no invitations from the central newspapers and journals. Perhaps you journalists were also afraid that the mass reader might misunderstand something and form a distorted idea about the army and its combat readiness.

Here there must, of course, be the utmost clarity. In units where deviations from the law are not uncommon, combat readiness is lower. But they do not determine the overall state of affairs. I believe the assessment made at the CPSU Central Committee June (1987) Plenum is correct: "Neither the party nor the people should have any doubt as to the capabilities of the USSR Armed Forces to defend the country." This has been repeatedly demonstrated by the glorious history of the Soviet Army and Navy and by their everyday, far from easy life.

NOTES